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The
1904 Republican
Supplement

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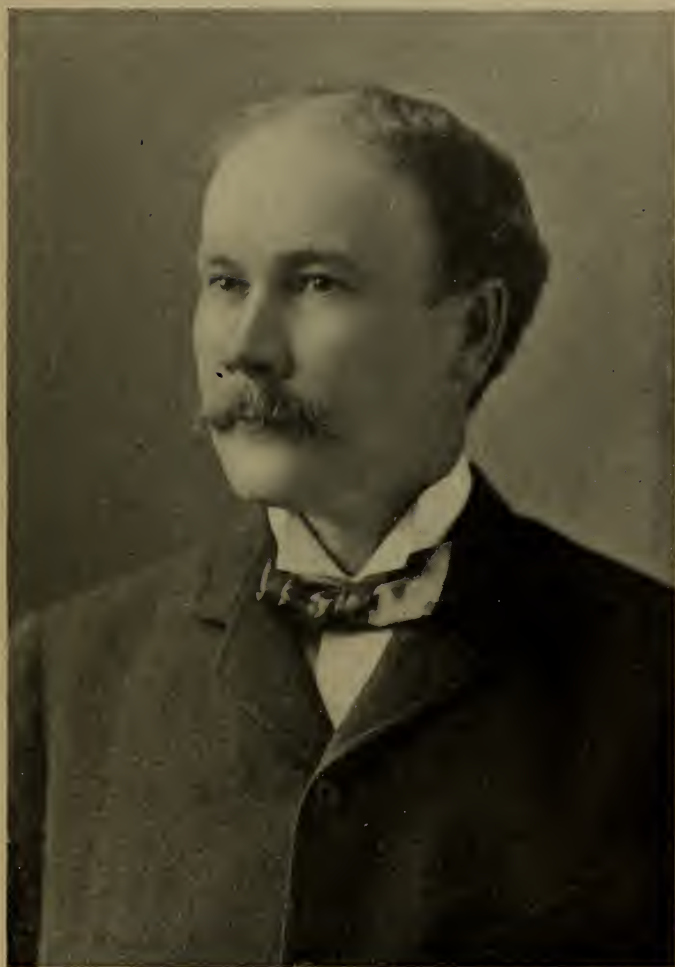
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OF OHIO



ATTORNEY GENERAL AND FORMER SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
WILLIAM H. MOODY
OF MASSACHUSETTS



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY PAUL MORTON
OF NEBRASKA



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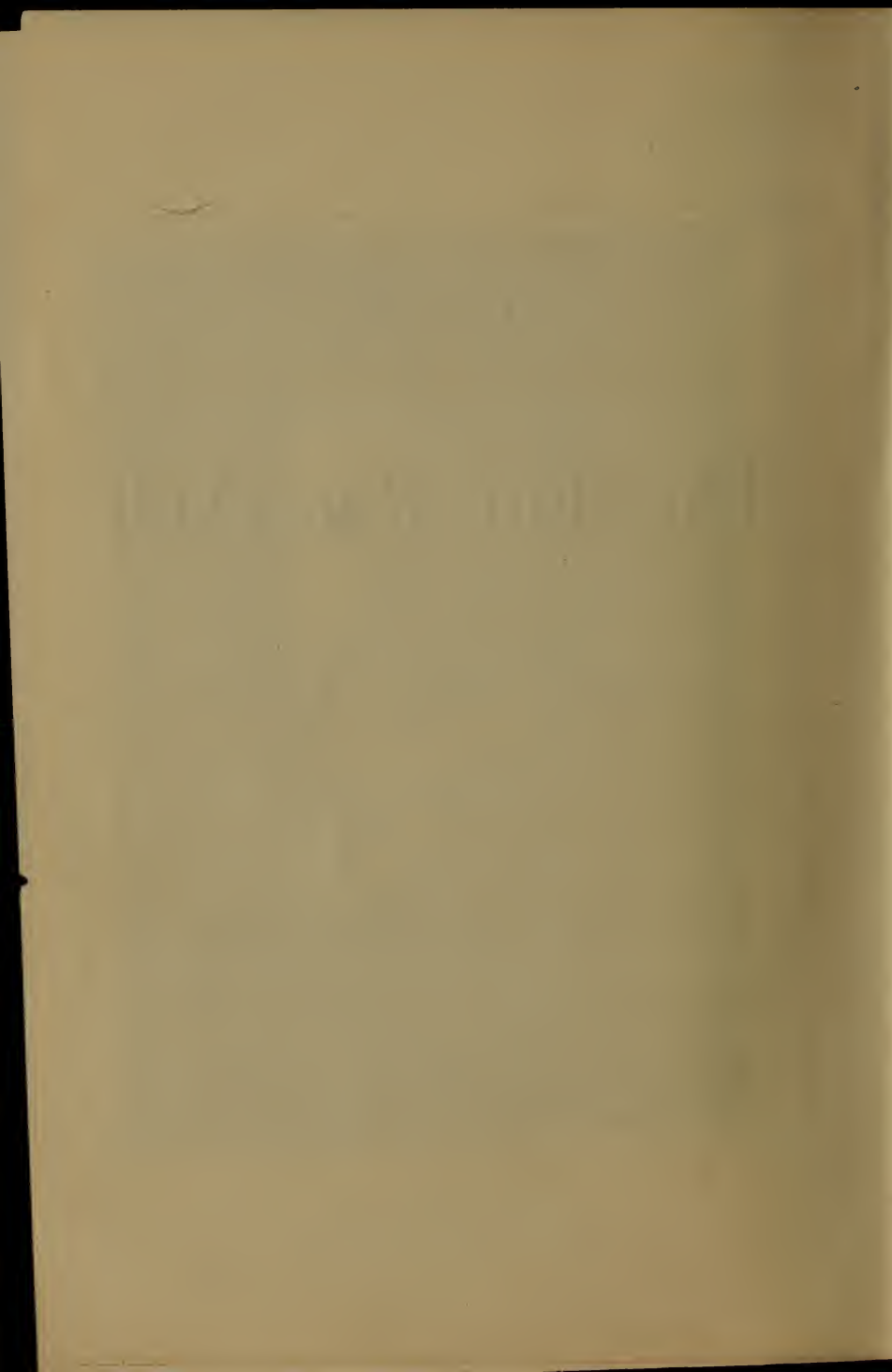
Theodore Roosevelt

Accepting the Republican Nomination

for

President of the United States

1904



LETTER

OF

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Oyster Bay, N. Y., Sept. 12, 1904.

Hon. J. G. CANNON,

Chairman of the Notification Committee.

My Dear Sir: I accept the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, and cordially approve the platform adopted by it. In writing this letter there are certain points upon which I desire to lay especial stress.

It is difficult to find out from the utterances of our opponents what are the real issues upon which they propose to wage this campaign. It is not unfair to say that, having abandoned most of the principles upon which they have insisted during the last eight years, they now seem at a loss, both as to what it is that they really believe, and as to how firmly they shall assert their belief in anything. In fact, it is doubtful if they venture resolutely to press a single issue; as soon as they raise one they shrink from it and seek to explain it away. Such an attitude is the probably inevitable result of the effort to improvise convictions; for when thus improvised, it is natural that they should be held in a tentative manner.

The party now in control of the Government is troubled by no such difficulties. We do not have to guess at our own convictions, and then correct the guess if it seems unpopular. The principles which we profess are those in which we believe with heart and soul and strength. Men may differ from us; but they cannot accuse us of shiftiness or insincerity. The policies we have pursued are those which we earnestly hold as essential to the national welfare and repute. Our actions speak even louder than our words for the faith that is in us. We base our appeal upon what we have done and are doing, upon our record of ad-

ministration and legislation during the last seven years, in which we have had complete control of the Government. We intend in the future to carry on the Government in the same way that we have carried it on in the past.

A Party Fit to Govern Must Have Convictions.

A party whose members are radically at variance on most vital issues, and if united at all, are only united on issues where their attitude threatens widespread disaster to the whole country, cannot be trusted to govern in any matter. A party which, with facile ease, changes all its convictions before election cannot be trusted to adhere with tenacity to any principle after election. A party fit to govern must have convictions. In 1896 the Republican party came into power, and in 1900 it retained power on certain definite pledges, each of which was scrupulously fulfilled. But in addition to meeting and solving the problems which were issues in these campaigns, it also became necessary to meet other problems which arose after election; and it is no small part of our claim to public confidence that these were solved with the same success that had attended the solution of those concerning which the battles at the polls were fought. In other words, our governmental efficiency proved equal not only to the tasks that were anticipated, but to doing each unanticipated task as it arose.

When the contest of 1896 was decided, the question of the war with Spain was not an issue. When the contest of 1900 was decided, the shape which the Isthmian Canal question ultimately took could not have been foreseen. But the same qualities which enabled those responsible for making and administering the laws at Washington to deal successfully with the tariff and the currency, enabled them also to deal with the Spanish War; and the same qualities which enabled them to act wisely in the Philippines, and in Cuba, also enabled them to do their duty as regards the problems connected with the trusts, and to secure the building of the Isthmian Canal. We are content to rest our case before the American people upon the fact that to adherence to a lofty ideal we have added proved governmental efficiency. Therefore, our promises may surely be trusted as regards any issue that is now before the people; and we may equally be trusted to deal with any problem which may hereafter arise.

So well has the work been done that our opponents do not venture to recite the facts about our policies or acts, and then oppose them. They attack them only when they have first misrepresented them; for a truthful recital would leave no room for adverse comment.

Panama.

Panama offers an instance in point. Our opponents can criticise what we did in Panama only on condition of misstating what was done. The Administration behaved throughout not only with good faith, but with extraordinary patience and large generosity toward those with whom it dealt. It was also mindful of American interests. It acted in strict compliance with the law passed by Congress. Had not Panama been promptly recognized, and the transit across the Isthmus kept open, in accordance with our treaty rights and obligations, there would have ensued endless guerrilla warfare and possibly foreign complications; while all chance of building the canal would have been deferred, certainly for years, perhaps for a generation or more. Criticism of the action in this matter is simply criticism of the only possible action which could have secured the building of the canal; as well as the peace and quiet which we were, by treaty, bound to preserve along the line of transit across the Isthmus. The service rendered this country in securing the perpetual right to construct, maintain, operate, and defend the canal was so great that our opponents do not venture to raise the issue in straightforward fashion; for if so raised there would be no issue. The decisive action which brought about this beneficent result was the exercise by the President of the powers vested in him, and in him alone, by the Constitution; the power to recognize foreign governments by entering into diplomatic relations with them, and the power to make treaties which, when ratified by the Senate, become under the Constitution part of the supreme law of the land. Neither in this nor in any other matter has there been the slightest failure to live up to the Constitution in letter and in spirit. But the Constitution must be observed positively as well as negatively. The President's duty is to serve the country in accordance with the Constitution; and I should be derelict in my duty if I used a false construc-

tion of the Constitution as a shield for weakness and timidity, or as an excuse for governmental impotence.

Our Foreign Policy—The Navy.

Similar misrepresentation is the one weapon of our opponents in regard to our foreign policy, and the way the navy has been made useful in carrying out this policy. Here again all that we ask is that they truthfully state what has been done, and then say whether or not they object to it; for if continued in power we shall continue our foreign policy and our handling of the navy on exactly the same lines in the future as in the past. To what phase of our foreign policy, and to what use of the navy, do our opponents object? Do they object to the way in which the Monroe Doctrine has been strengthened and upheld? Never before has this doctrine been acquiesced in abroad as it is now; and yet, while upholding the rights of the weaker American republics against foreign aggression, the Administration has lost no opportunity to point out to these republics that those who seek equity should come with clean hands, and that whoever claims liberty as a right must accept the responsibilities that go with the exercise of the right. Do our opponents object to what was done in reference to the petition of American citizens against the Kishenev massacre? or to the protest against the treatment of the Jews in Roumania? or to the efforts that have been made in behalf of the Armenians in Turkey? No other Administration in our history, no other government in the world, has more consistently stood for the broadest spirit of brotherhood in our common humanity, or has held a more resolute attitude of protest against every wrong that outraged the civilization of the age, at home or abroad. Do our opponents object to the fact that the international tribunal at the Hague was rescued from impotence, and turned into a potent instrument for peace among the nations? This government has used that tribunal, and advocated its use by others, in pursuance of its policy to promote the cause of international peace and good will by all honorable methods. In carrying out this policy, it has settled dispute after dispute by arbitration or by friendly agreement. It has behaved towards all nations, strong or weak, with courtesy, dignity, and justice; and it is now on excellent terms with all.

Do our opponents object to the settlement of the Alaska boundary line? Do they object to the fact that after freeing Cuba we gave her reciprocal trade advantages with the United States, while at the same time keeping naval stations in the island and providing against its sinking into chaos, or being conquered by any foreign power? Do they object to the fact that our flag now flies over Porto Rico? Do they object to the acquisition of Hawaii? Once they "hailed down" our flag there; we have hoisted it again; do they intend once more to haul it down? Do they object to the part we played in China? Do they not know that the voice of the United States would now count for nothing in the far East if we had abandoned the Philippines and refused to do what was done in China? Do they object to the fact that this Government secured a peaceful settlement of the troubles in Venezuela two years ago? Do they object to the presence of the ship-of-war off Colon when the revolution broke out in Panama, and when only the presence of this ship saved the lives of American citizens, and prevented insult to the flag? Do they object to the fact that American war-ships appeared promptly at the port of Beirut when an effort had been made to assassinate an American official, and in the port of Tangier when an American citizen had been abducted? and that in each case the wrong complained of was righted and expiated? and that within the last few days the visit of an American squadron to Smyrna was followed by the long-delayed concession of their just rights to those Americans concerned in educational work in Turkey? Do they object to the trade treaty with China, so full of advantage for the American people in the future? Do they object to the fact that the ships carrying the national flag now have a higher standard than ever before in marksmanship and in seamanship, as individual units and as component parts of squadrons and fleets? If they object to any or all of these things, we join issue with them. Our foreign policy has been not only highly advantageous to the United States, but hardly less advantageous to the world as a whole. Peace and good will have followed in its footsteps. The Government has shown itself no less anxious to respect the rights of others than insistent that the rights of Americans be respected in return. As for the navy, it has been and is now the most potent guarantee of peace; and it is such chiefly because it is formidable, and ready for use.

Pension Order No. 78.

When our opponents speak of "encroachments" by the Executive upon the authority of Congress or the Judiciary, apparently the act they ordinarily have in view is Pension Order No. 78, issued under the authority of existing law. This order directed that hereafter any veteran of the Civil War who had reached the age of sixty-two should be presumptively entitled to the pension of six dollars a month, given under the dependent pension law to those whose capacity to earn their livelihood by manual labor has been decreased fifty per cent., and that by the time the age of seventy was reached the presumption should be that the physical disability was complete; the age being treated as an evidential fact in each case. This order was made in the performance of a duty imposed upon the President by an act of Congress, which requires the Executive to make regulations to govern the subordinates of the Pension Office in determining who are entitled to pensions. President Cleveland had already exercised this power by a regulation which declared that seventy-five should be set as the age at which total disability should be conclusively presumed. Similarly, President McKinley established sixty-five as the age at which half disability should be conclusively presumed. The regulation now in question, in the exercise of the same power, supplemented these regulations made under Presidents Cleveland and McKinley.

The men who fought for union and for liberty in the years from 1861 to 1865 not only saved this Nation from ruin, but rendered an inestimable service to all mankind. We of the United States owe the fact that to-day we have a country to what they did; and the Nation has decreed by law that no one of them, if disabled from earning his own living, shall lack the pension to which he is entitled, not only as a matter of gratitude, but as a matter of justice. It is the policy of the Republican party, steadily continued through many years, to treat the veterans of the Civil War in a spirit of broad liberality. The order in question carried out this policy, and is justified not merely on legal grounds, but also on grounds of public morality. It is a matter of common knowledge that when the average man who depends for his wages upon bodily labor has reached the age of sixty-two his earning ability is in all probability less by half

than it was when he was in his prime; and that by the time he has reached the age of seventy he has probably lost all earning ability. If there is doubt upon this point let the doubter examine the employees doing manual labor in any great manufactory or on any great railroad, and find out how large is the proportion of men between the ages of sixty-two and seventy, and whether these men are still employed at the highly paid tasks which they did in their prime. As a matter of fact, many railroads pension their employees when they have reached these ages, and in nations where old age pensions prevail they always begin somewhere between the two limits thus set. It is easy to test our opponents' sincerity in this matter. The order in question is revocable at the pleasure of the Executive. If our opponents come into power they can revoke this order and announce that they will treat the veterans of sixty-two to seventy as presumably in full bodily vigor and not entitled to pensions. Will they now authoritatively state that they intend to do this? If so, we accept the issue. If not, then we have the right to ask why they raise an issue which, when raised, they do not venture to meet.

The Coal Strike—The Merger Suit.

In addition to those acts of the Administration which they venture to assail only after misrepresenting them, there are others which they dare not overtly or officially attack, and yet which they covertly bring forward as reasons for the overthrow of the party. In certain great centers and with certain great interests our opponents make every effort to show that the settlement of the Anthracite Coal Strike by the individual act of the President, and the successful suit against the Northern Securities Company—the Merger suit—undertaken by the Department of Justice, were acts because of which the present Administration should be thrown from power. Yet they dare not openly condemn either act. They dare not in any authoritative or formal manner say that in either case wrong was done or error committed in the method of action, or in the choice of instruments for putting that action into effect. But what they dare not manfully assert in open day, they seek to use furtively and through special agents. It is perhaps natural that an attack so conducted should be made sometimes on the ground that too

much, sometimes on the ground that too little, has been done. Some of our opponents complain because under the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws suits were undertaken which have been successful; others, because suits were not undertaken which would have been unsuccessful. The Democratic State Convention in New York dealt with the Anthracite Coal Strike by demanding in deliberate and formal fashion that the National Government should take possession of the coal fields; yet champions of that convention's cause now condemn the fact that there was any action by the President at all—though they must know that it was only this action by the President which prevented the movement for national ownership of the coal fields from gaining what might well have been an irresistible impetus. Such mutually destructive criticisms furnish an adequate measure of the chance for coherent action or constructive legislation if our opponents should be given power.

The Democratic Party Noncommittal.

So much for what our opponents openly or covertly advance in the way of an attack on the acts of the Administration. When we come to consider the policies for which they profess to stand we are met with the difficulty always arising when statements of policy are so made that they can be interpreted in different ways. On some of the vital questions that have confronted the American people in the last decade our opponents take the position that silence is the best possible way to convey their views. They contend that their lukewarm attitude of partial acquiescence in what others have accomplished entitles them to be made the custodians of the financial honor and commercial interests which they have but recently sought to ruin. Being unable to agree among themselves as to whether the gold standard is a curse or a blessing, and as to whether we ought or ought not to have free and unlimited coinage of silver, they have apparently thought it expedient to avoid any committal on these subjects, and individually each to follow his particular bent. Their nearest approach to a majority judgment seems to be that it is now inexpedient to assert their convictions one way or the other, and that the establishment of the gold standard by the Republican party should not be disturbed unless there is an alteration in the relative quantity of production of silver and gold. Men who hold

sincere convictions on vital questions can respect equally sincere men with whose views they radically differ; and men may confess a change of faith without compromising their honor or their self-respect. But it is difficult to respect an attitude of mind such as has been fairly described above; and where there is no respect there can be no trust. A policy with so slender a basis of principle would not stand the strain of a single year of business adversity.

We Believe in the Gold Standard.

We, on the contrary, believe in the gold standard as fixed by the usage and verdict of the business world, and in a sound monetary system as matters of principle; as matters not of momentary political expediency, but of permanent organic policy. In 1896 and again in 1900 far-sighted men, without regard to their party fealty in the past, joined to work against what they regarded as a debased monetary system. The policies which they championed have been steadfastly adhered to by the Administration; and by the act of March 14, 1900, Congress established the single gold standard as the measure of our monetary value. This act received the support of every Republican in the House, and of every Republican except one in the Senate. Of our opponents, eleven supported it in the House and two in the Senate; and one hundred and fifty opposed it in the House and twenty-eight in the Senate. The record of the last seven years proves that the party now in power can be trusted to take the additional action necessary to improve and strengthen our monetary system, and that our opponents cannot be so trusted. The fundamental fact is that in a popular government such as ours no policy is irrevocably settled by law unless the people keep in control of the government men who believe in that policy as a matter of deep-rooted conviction. Laws can always be revoked; it is the spirit and the purpose of those responsible for their enactment and administration which must be fixed and unchangeable. It is idle to say that the monetary standard of the Nation is irrevocably fixed so long as the party which at the last election cast approximately forty-six per cent. of the total vote, refuses to put in its platform any statement that the question is settled. A determination to remain silent cannot be accepted as equivalent to a recantation. Until our opponents as a party explicitly adopt the views which we hold and upon which we have acted and are

acting, in the matter of a sound currency, the only real way to keep the question from becoming unsettled is to keep the Republican party in power.

Capital and Labor.

As for what our opponents say in reference to capital and labor, individual or corporate, here again all we need by way of answer is to point to what we have actually done, and to say that if continued in power we shall continue to carry out the policy we have been pursuing, and to execute the laws as resolutely and fearlessly in the future as we have executed them in the past. In my speech of acceptance I said:

"We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind of organization is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law, and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law; for no man is above it and no man below it. The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold; but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage, and of common sense."

Regulation of Trusts.

The action of the Attorney-General in enforcing the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws, and the action of the last Congress in enlarging the scope of the interstate commerce law, and in creating the Department of Commerce and Labor, with a Bureau of Corporations, have for the first time opened a chance for the National Government to deal intelligently and adequately with the questions affecting society, whether for good or for evil, because of the accumulation of capital in great corporations, and because of the new relations caused thereby. These laws are now being administered with entire efficiency; and as, in their working, need is shown for amendment or addition to them,—whether better to secure the proper publicity, or better to guarantee the rights of shippers, or in any other direction—this need

will be met. It is now asserted "that the common law, as developed, affords a complete legal remedy against monopolies." But there is no common law of the United States. Its rules can be enforced only by the State courts and officers. No Federal court or officer could take any action whatever under them. It was this fact, coupled with the inability of the States to control trusts and monopolies, which led to the passage of the Federal statutes known as the Sherman anti-trust act and the interstate commerce act; and it is only through the exercise of the powers conferred by these acts, and by the statutes of the last Congress supplementing them, that the National Government acquires any jurisdiction over the subject. To say that action against trusts and monopolies should be limited to the application of the common law is equivalent to saying that the National Government should take no action whatever to regulate them.

Undoubtedly, the multiplication of trusts and their increase in power has been largely due to the "failure of officials charged with the duty of enforcing the law to take the necessary procedure." Such stricture upon the failure of the officials of the National Government to do their duty in this matter is certainly not wholly undeserved as far as the Administration preceding President McKinley's is concerned; but it has no application at all to Republican Administration. It is also undoubtedly true that what is most needed is "officials having both the disposition and the courage to enforce existing law." This is precisely the need that has been met by the consistent and steadily continued action of the Department of Justice under the present Administration.

All Men Stand Alike Before the Law.

So far as the rights of the individual wage-worker and the individual capitalist are concerned, both as regards one another, as regards the public, and as regards organized capital and labor, the position of the Administration has been so clear that there is no excuse for misrepresenting it, and no ground for opposing it unless misrepresented. Within the limits defined by the National Constitution the National Administration has sought to secure to each man the full enjoyment of his right to live his life and dispose of his property and his labor as he deems best, so long as he wrongs no one else. It has shown in effective fashion that in endeavoring to make good this guarantee, it treats all men,

rich or poor, whatever their creed, their color, or their birth-place, as standing alike before the law. Under our form of government the sphere in which the Nation as distinguished from the State can act is narrowly circumscribed; but within that sphere all that could be done has been done. All thinking men are aware of the restrictions upon the power of action of the National Government in such matters. Being ourselves mindful of them, we have been scrupulously careful on the one hand to be moderate in our promises, and on the other hand to keep these promises in letter and in spirit. Our opponents have been hampered by no such considerations. They have promised, and many of them now promise, action which they could by no possibility take in the exercise of constitutional power, and which, if attempted, would bring business to a standstill; they have used, and often now use, language of wild invective and appeal to all the baser passions which tend to excite one set of Americans against their fellow-Americans; and yet whenever they have had power they have fittingly supplemented this extravagance of promise by absolute nullity in performance.

American Citizens Abroad.

This Government is based upon the fundamental idea that each man, no matter what his occupation, his race, or his religious belief, is entitled to be treated on his worth as a man, and neither favored nor discriminated against because of any accident in his position. Even here at home there is painful difficulty in the effort to realize this ideal; and the attempt to secure from other nations acknowledgment of it sometimes encounters obstacles that are well nigh insuperable; for there are many nations which in the slow procession of the ages have not yet reached that point where the principles which Americans regard as axiomatic obtain any recognition whatever. One of the chief difficulties arises in connection with certain American citizens of foreign birth, or of particular creed, who desire to travel abroad. Russia, for instance, refuses to admit and protect Jews. Turkey refuses to admit and protect certain sects of Christians. This Government has consistently demanded equal protection abroad for all American citizens, whether native or naturalized. On March 27, 1899, Secretary Hay sent a letter of instructions to all the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, in

which he said: "This Department does not discriminate between native-born and naturalized citizens in according them protection while they are abroad, equality of treatment being required by the laws of the United States." These orders to our agents abroad have been repeated again and again, and are treated as the fundamental rule of conduct laid down for them, proceeding upon the theory "that all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries, are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens." In issuing passports the State Department never discriminates, or alludes to any man's religion; and in granting to every American citizen, native or naturalized, Christian or Jew, the same passport, so far as it has power it insists that all foreign governments shall accept the passport as *prima facie* proof that the person therein described is a citizen of the United States and entitled to protection as such. It is a standing order to every American diplomatic and consular officer to protect every American citizen, of whatever faith, from unjust molestation; and our officers abroad have been stringently required to comply with this order.

Under such circumstances, the demand of our opponents that negotiations be begun to secure equal treatment of all Americans from those governments which do not now accord it, shows either ignorance of the facts or insincerity. No change of policy in the method or manner of negotiation would add effectiveness to what the State Department has done and is doing. The steady pressure which the Department has been keeping up in the past will be continued in the future. This Administration has on all proper occasions given clear expression to the belief of the American people that discrimination and oppression because of religion, wherever practised, are acts of injustice before God and man; and in making evident to the world the depth of American convictions in this regard we have gone to the very limit of diplomatic usage.

It is a striking evidence of our opponents' insincerity in this matter that with their demand for radical action by the State Department they couple a demand for a reduction in our small military establishment. Yet they must know that the heed paid to our protests against ill-treatment of our citizens will be exactly proportionate to the belief in our ability to make these protests effective should the need arise.

The Civil Service Law.

Our opponents have now declared themselves in favor of the Civil Service law, the repeal of which they demanded in 1900 and in 1896. If consistent, they should have gone one step further and congratulated the country upon the way in which the Civil Service law is now administered, and the way in which the classified service has been extended. The exceptions from examinations are fewer by far than ever before, and are confined to individual cases, where the application of the rules would be impracticable, unwise, unjust, or unnecessary. The administration of the great body of the classified civil service is free from politics, and appointments and removals have been put upon a business basis. Statistics show that there is little difference between the tenure of the Federal classified employees and that of the employees of private business corporations. Less than one per cent. of the classified employees are over seventy years of age, and in the main the service rendered is vigorous and efficient. Where the merit system was of course most needed was in the Philippine Islands; and a civil service law of very advanced type has there been put into operation and scrupulously observed. Without one exception every appointment in the Philippines has been made in accordance with the strictest standard of fitness, and without heed to any other consideration.

Finally, we come to certain matters upon which our opponents do in their platform of principles definitely take issue with us, and where, if they are sincere, their triumph would mean disaster to the country. But exactly as it is impossible to call attention to the present promises and past record of our opponents without seeming offensive, so it is impossible to compare their platform with their other and later official utterances and not create doubt as to their sincerity. In their private or unofficial utterances many of them frankly advance this insincerity as a merit, taking the position that as regards the points on which I am about to speak they have no intention of keeping their promises or of departing from the policies now established, and that therefore they can be trusted not to abuse the power they seek.

The Protective Tariff.

When we take up the great question of the tariff we are at

once confronted by the doubt as to whether our opponents do or do not mean what they say. They say that "protection is robbery," and promise to carry themselves accordingly if they are given power. Yet prominent persons among them assert that they do not really mean this and that if they come into power they will adopt our policy as regards the tariff; while others seem anxious to prove that it is safe to give them partial power, because the power would be only partial, and therefore they would not be able to do mischief. The last is certainly a curious plea to advance on behalf of a party seeking to obtain control of the government.

At the outset it is worth while to say a word as to the attempt to identify the question of tariff revision or tariff reduction with a solution of the trust question. This is always a sign of desire to avoid any real effort to deal adequately with the trust question. In speaking on this point at Minneapolis, on April 4, 1903, I said:

"The question of tariff revision, speaking broadly, stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the trusts. No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem. Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Almost all the others that are of any importance have as a matter of fact numbers of smaller American competitors; and of course a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury but destruction to its smaller competitors; and equally of course such a change would mean disaster to all the wage-workers connected with either the large or the small corporations. From the standpoint of those interested in the solution of the trust problem such a change would therefore merely mean that the trust was relieved of the competition of its weaker American competitors, and thrown only into competition with foreign competitors; and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages, and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor. In the case of some of our greatest trusts such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit. Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for weal or for woe simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests,

large or small, profitable; and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also."

There is little for me to add to this. It is but ten years since the last attempt was made, by means of lowering the tariff, to prevent some people from prospering too much. The attempt was entirely successful. The tariff law of that year was among the causes which in that year and for some time afterwards effectually prevented anybody from prospering too much, and labor from prospering at all. Undoubtedly it would be possible at the present time to prevent any of the trusts from remaining prosperous by the simple expedient of making such a sweeping change in the tariff as to paralyze the industries of the country. The trusts would cease to prosper; but their smaller competitors would be ruined, and the wage-workers would starve, while it would not pay the farmer to haul his produce to market. The evils connected with the trusts can be reached only by rational effort, step by step, along the lines taken by Congress and the Executive during the past three years. If a tariff law is passed under which the country prospers, as the country has prospered under the present tariff law, then all classes will share in the prosperity. If a tariff law is passed aimed at preventing the prosperity of some of our people, it is as certain as anything can be that this aim will be achieved only by cutting down the prosperity of all of our people.

Of course, if our opponents are not sincere in their proposal to abolish the system of a protective tariff, there is no use in arguing the matter at all, save by pointing out again that if on one great issue they do not mean what they say, it is hardly safe to trust them on any other issue. But if they are sincere in this matter, then their advent to power would mean domestic misfortune and misery as widespread and far-reaching as that which we saw ten years ago. When they speak of protection as "robbery," they of course must mean that it is immoral to enact a tariff designed (as is the present protective tariff) to secure to the American wage-worker the benefit of the high standard of living which we desire to see kept up in this country. Now to speak of the tariff in this sense as "robbery," thereby giving it a moral relation, is not merely rhetorical; it is on its face false. The question of what tariff is best for our people is primarily one of expediency, to be determined not on abstract academic

grounds, but in the light of experience. It is a matter of business; for fundamentally ours is a business people—manufacturers, merchants, farmers, wage-workers, professional men, all alike. Our experience as a people in the past has certainly not shown us that we could afford in this matter to follow those professional counsellors who have confined themselves to study in the closet; for the actual working of the tariff has emphatically contradicted their theories. From time to time schedules must undoubtedly be rearranged and readjusted to meet the shifting needs of the country; but this can with safety be done only by those who are committed to the cause of the protective system. To uproot and destroy that system would be to insure the prostration of business, the closing of factories, the impoverishment of the farmer, the ruin of the capitalist, and the starvation of the wage-worker. Yet, if protection is indeed “robbery,” and if our opponents really believe what they say, then it is precisely to the destruction and uprooting of the tariff, and therefore of our business and industry, that they are pledged. When our opponents last obtained power it was on a platform declaring a protective tariff “unconstitutional;” and the effort to put this declaration into practice was one of the causes of the general national prostration lasting from 1893 to 1897. If a protective tariff is either “unconstitutional” or “robbery,” then it is just as unconstitutional, just as much robbery, to revise it down, still leaving it protective, as it would be to enact it. In other words our opponents have committed themselves to the destruction of the protective principle in the tariff, using words which if honestly used forbid them from permitting this principle to obtain in even the smallest degree.

Reciprocity.

Our opponents assert that they believe in reciprocity. Their action on the most important reciprocity treaty recently negotiated—that with Cuba—does not bear out this assertion. Moreover, there can be no reciprocity unless there is a substantial tariff; free trade and reciprocity are not compatible. We are on record as favoring arrangements for reciprocal trade relations with other countries, these arrangements to be on an equitable basis of benefit to both the contracting parties. The Republican party stands pledged to every wise and consistent method of increasing the foreign commerce of the country. That it has kept

its pledge is proven by the fact that while the domestic trade of this country exceeds in volume the entire export and import trade of all the nations of the world, the United States has in addition secured more than an eighth of the export trade of the world, standing first among the nations in this respect. The United States has exported during the last seven years nearly ten billions of dollars' worth of goods—on an average half as much again annually as during the previous four years, when many of our people were consuming nothing but necessities, and some of them a scanty supply even of these.

Two years ago, in speaking at Logansport, Indiana, I said:

"The one consideration which must never be omitted in a tariff change is the imperative need of preserving the American standard of living for the American workingman. The tariff-rate must never fall below that which will protect the American workingman by allowing for the difference between the general labor-cost here and abroad, so as at least to equalize the conditions arising from the difference in the standard of labor here and abroad—a difference which it should be our aim to foster in so far as it represents the needs of better educated, better paid, better fed, and better clothed workmen of a higher type than any to be found in a foreign country. At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages, that is, in his standard of living, and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. Our laws should in no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. They should in no event do less than equalize the difference in conditions at home and abroad."

No Longer a Theory.

It is a matter of regret that the protective tariff policy, which, during the last forty-odd years, has become part of the very fiber of the country, is not now accepted as definitely established. Surely we have a right to say that it has passed beyond the domain of theory, and a right to expect that not only its original advocates, but those who at one time distrusted it on theoretic grounds should now acquiesce in the results that have been proved over and over again by actual experience. These forty-odd years have been the most prosperous years this nation has ever

seen; more prosperous years than any other nation has ever seen. Beyond question this prosperity could not have come if the American people had not possessed the necessary thrift, energy, and business intelligence to turn their vast material resources to account. But it is no less true that it is our economic policy as regards the tariff and finance which has enabled us as a nation to make such good use of the individual capacities of our citizens, and the natural resources of our country. Every class of our people is benefited by the protective tariff. During the last few years the merchant has seen the export trade of this country grow faster than ever in our previous history. The manufacturer could not keep his factory running if it were not for the protective tariff. The wage-worker would do well to remember that if protection is "robbery," and is to be punished accordingly, he will be the first to pay the penalty; for either he will be turned adrift entirely, or his wages will be cut down to the starvation point. As conclusively shown by the bulletins of the Bureau of Labor, the purchasing power of the average wage received by the wage-worker has grown faster than the cost of living, and this in spite of the continual shortening of working hours. The accumulated savings of the workingmen of the country, as shown by the deposits in the savings banks, have increased by leaps and bounds. At no time in the history of this or any other country has there been an era so productive of material benefit alike to workingman and employer, as during the seven years that have just passed.

A Home Market for American Farmers.

The farmer has benefited quite as much as the manufacturer, the merchant, and the wage-worker. The most welcome and impressive fact established by the last census is the wide and even distribution of wealth among all classes of our countrymen. The chief agencies in producing this distribution are shown by the census to be the development of manufactures, and the application of new inventions to universal use. The result has been an increasing interdependence of agriculture and manufactures. Agriculture is now, as it always has been, the basis of civilization. The six million farms of the United States, operated by men who, as a class, are steadfast, single-minded, and industrious, form the basis of all the other achievements of the American people and are more fruitful than all their other resources.

The men on those six million farms receive from the protective tariff what they most need, and that is the best of all possible markets. All other classes depend upon the farmer, but the farmer in turn depends upon the market they furnish him for his produce. The annual output of our agricultural products is nearly four billions of dollars. Their increase in value has been prodigious, although agriculture has languished in most other countries; and the main factor in this increase is the corresponding increase of our manufacturing industries. American farmers have prospered because the growth of their market has kept pace with the growth of their farms. The additional market continually furnished for agricultural products by domestic manufacturers has been far in excess of the outlet to other lands. An export trade in farm products is necessary to dispose of our surplus; and the export trade of our farmers, both in animal products and in plant products, has very largely increased. Without the enlarged home market to keep this surplus down, we should have to reduce production or else feed the world at less than the cost of production. In the forty years ending in 1900 the total value of farm property increased twelve and a half billions of dollars; the farmer gaining even more during this period than the manufacturer. Long ago overproduction would have checked the marvelous development of our national agriculture, but for the steadily increasing demand of American manufacturers for farm products required as raw materials for steadily expanding industries. The farmer has become dependent upon the manufacturer to utilize that portion of his produce which does not go directly to food supply. In 1900 fifty-two per cent., or a little over half, of the total value of the farm products of the Nation was consumed in manufacturing industries as the raw materials of the factories. Evidently the manufacturer is the farmer's best and most direct customer. Moreover, the American manufacturer purchases his farm supplies almost exclusively in his own country. Nine-tenths of all the raw materials of every kind and description consumed in American manufactories are of American production. The manufacturing establishments tend steadily to migrate into the heart of the great agricultural districts. The center of the manufacturing industry in 1900 was near the middle of Ohio, and it is moving westward at the rate of about thirty miles in every decade; and this movement is invariably accompanied by a marked increase in the value of farm

lands. Local causes, notably the competition between new farm lands and old farm lands, tend here and there to obscure what is happening; but it is as certain as the operation of any economic law, that in the country as a whole, farm values will continue to increase as the partnership between manufacturer and farmer grows more intimate through further advance of industrial science. The American manufacturer never could have placed this Nation at the head of the manufacturing nations of the world if he had not had behind him, securing him every variety of raw material, the exhaustless resources of the American farm, developed by the skill and the enterprise of intelligent and educated American farmers. On the other hand, the debt of the farmers to the manufacturers is equally heavy, and the future of American agriculture is bound up in the future of American manufactures. The two industries have become, under the economic policy of our Government, so closely interwoven, so mutually interdependent, that neither can hope to maintain itself at the high-water mark of progress without the other. Whatever makes to the advantage of one is equally to the advantage of the other.

The Wage-Worker Needs Protection.

So it is as between the capitalist and the wage-worker. Here and there there may be an unequal sharing as between the two in the benefits that have come by protection; but benefits have come to both; and a reversal in policy would mean damage to both; and while the damage would be heavy to all, it would be heaviest, and it would fall soonest, upon those who are paid in the form of wages each week or each month for that week's or that month's work.

Conditions change and the laws must be modified from time to time to fit new exigencies. But the genuine underlying principle of protection, as it has been embodied in all but one of the American tariff laws for the last forty years, has worked out results so beneficent, so evenly and widely spread, so advantageous alike to farmers and capitalists and workingmen, to commerce and trade of every kind, that the American people, if they show their usual practical business sense, will insist that when these laws are modified they shall be modified with the utmost care and conservatism, and by the friends and not the enemies of the protective system. They cannot afford to trust the modification to those who treat protection and robbery as synonymous terms.

In closing what I have to say about the system of promoting American industry let me add a word of cordial agreement with the policy of in some way including within its benefits, by appropriate legislation, the American merchant marine. It is not creditable to us as a nation that our great export and import trade should be well nigh exclusively in the hands of foreigners.

The Army.

It is difficult to know if our opponents are really sincere in their demand for the reduction of the army. If insincere, there is no need for comment, and if sincere, what shall we say in speaking to rational persons of an appeal to reduce an army of sixty thousand men which is taking care of the interests of over eighty million people? The army is now relatively smaller than it was in the days of Washington, when on the peace establishment there were thirty-six hundred soldiers, while there were a little less than four millions of population; smaller than it was in the peaceful days of Jefferson, when there were fifty-one hundred soldiers to five million three hundred thousand population. There is now one soldier to every fourteen hundred people in this country—less than one-tenth of one per cent. We cannot be asked seriously to argue as to the amount of possible tyranny contained in these figures. The army as it is now is as small as it can possibly be and serve its purpose as an effective nucleus for the organization, equipment, and supply of a volunteer army in time of need. It is now used, as never before, for aiding in the up-building of the organized militia of the country. The War Department is engaged in a systematic effort to strengthen and develop the National Guard in the several States; as witness, among many other instances, the great field maneuvers at Manassas, which have just closed. If our opponents should come into power they could not reduce our army below its present size without greatly impairing its efficiency and abandoning part of the National duty. In short, in this matter, if our opponents should come into power they would either have to treat this particular promise of the year 1904 as they now treat the promises they made in 1896 and 1900, that is, as possessing no binding force; or else they would have to embark on a policy which would be ludicrous at the moment, and fraught with grave danger to the National honor in the future.

Our opponents contend that the Government is now admin-

istered extravagantly, and that whereas there was "a surplus of \$80,000,000 in 1900" there is "a deficit of more than \$40,000,000" in the year that has just closed.

Taxation Reduced.

This deficit is imaginary, and is obtained by including in the ordinary current expenses the sum of fifty millions, which was paid for the right of way of the Panama canal out of the accumulated surplus in the Treasury. Comparing the current or ordinary expenditures for the two years, there was a surplus of nearly eighty millions for the year 1900, and of only a little more than eight millions for the year that has just closed. But this diminution of the annual surplus was brought about designedly by the abolition of the war taxes in the interval between the two dates. The acts of March 2, 1901, and April 12, 1902, cut down the internal revenue taxes to an amount estimated at one hundred and five millions a year. In other words, the reduction of taxation has been considerably greater than the reduction in the annual surplus. Since the close of the war with Spain there has been no substantial change in the rate of annual expenditures. As compared with the fiscal year ending in June, 1901, for example, the fiscal year that has just closed showed a relatively small increase in expenditure (excluding the canal payment already referred to), while the year previous showed a relatively small decrease.

Expenditures of the Nation.

The expenditures of the Nation have been managed in a spirit of economy as far removed from waste as from niggardliness; and in the future every effort will be continued to secure an economy as strict as is consistent with efficiency. Once more our opponents have promised what they cannot or should not perform. The prime reason why the expenses of the Government have increased of recent years is to be found in the fact that the people, after mature thought, have deemed it wise to have certain new forms of work for the public undertaken by the public. This necessitates such expenditures, for instance, as those for rural free delivery, or for the inspection of meats under the Department of Agriculture, or for irrigation. But these new expenditures are necessary; no one would seriously propose to abandon them; and yet it is idle to declaim against the increased expense

of the Government unless it is intended to cut down the very expenditures which cause the increase. The pensions to the veterans of the Civil War are demanded by every sentiment of regard and gratitude. The rural free delivery is of the greatest use and convenience to the farmers, a body of men who live under conditions which make them ordinarily receive little direct return for what they pay toward the support of the Government. The irrigation policy in the arid and semi-arid regions of the West is one fraught with the most beneficent and far-reaching good to the actual settlers, the home-makers, whose encouragement is a traditional feature in America's National policy. Do our opponents grudge the fifty millions paid for the Panama Canal? Do they intend to cut down on the pensions to the veterans of the Civil War? Do they intend to put a stop to the irrigation policy? or to the permanent census bureau? or to immigration inspection? Do they intend to abolish rural free delivery? Do they intend to cut down the navy? or the Alaskan telegraph system? Do they intend to dismantle our coast fortifications? If there is to be a real and substantial cutting down in National expenditures it must be in such matters as these. The Department of Agriculture has done service of incalculable value to the farmers of this country in many different lines. Do our opponents wish to cut down the money for this service? They can do it only by destroying the usefulness of the service itself.

Honesty in the Public Service.

The public work of the United States has never been conducted with a higher degree of honesty and efficiency than at the present time; and a special meed of praise belongs to those officials responsible for the Philippines and Porto Rico, where the administrations have been models of their kind. Of course wrong has occasionally occurred, but it has been relentlessly stamped out. We have known no party in dealing with offenders, and have hunted down without mercy every wrong-doer in the service of the Nation whom it was possible by the utmost vigilance to detect; for the public servant who betrays his trust and the private individual who debauches him stand as the worst of criminals, because their crimes are crimes against the entire community, and not only against this generation but against the generations that are yet to be.

The Philippines.

Our opponents promise independence to the Philippine Islands. Here again we are confronted by the fact that their irreconcilable differences of opinion among themselves, their proved inability to create a constructive policy when in power, and their readiness, for the sake of momentary political expediency, to abandon the principles upon which they have insisted as essential, conspire to puzzle us as to whether they do or do not intend in good faith to carry out this promise if they are given control of the Government. In their platform they declare for independence, apparently—for their language is a little obscure—without qualification as to time; and indeed a qualification as to time is an absurdity, for we have neither right nor power to bind our successors when it is impossible to foretell the conditions which may confront them; while if there is any principle involved in the matter, it is just as wrong to deny independence for a few years as to deny it for an indefinite period. But in later and equally official utterances by our opponents the term self-government was substituted for independence; the words used being so chosen that in their natural construction they described precisely the policy now being carried on. The language of the platform indicated a radical change of policy; the later utterances indicated a continuance of the present policy. But this caused trouble in their own ranks; and in a still later, although less formal, utterance, the self-government promise was recanted, and independence at some future time was promised in its place. They have occupied three entirely different positions within fifty days. Which is the promise they really intend to keep? They do not know their own minds; and no one can tell how long they would keep of the same mind, should they by any chance come to a working agreement among themselves. If such ambiguity affected only the American people it would not so greatly matter; for the American people can take care of themselves. But the Filipinos are in no such condition. Confidence is with them a plant of slow growth. They have been taught to trust the word of this Government because this Government has promised nothing which it did not perform. If promised independence they will expect independence; not in the remote future, for their descendants, but immediately, for themselves. If the promise thus made is not immediately fulfilled they will regard it as broken, and will not again trust to American faith;

and it would be indeed a wicked thing to deceive them in such fashion. Moreover, even if the promise were made to take effect only in the distant future, the Filipinos would be thrown into confusion thereby. Instead of continuing to endeavor to fit themselves for moral and material advancement in the present, they would abandon all effort at progress and begin factional intrigues for future power.

To promise to give them independence when it is "prudent" to do so, or when they are "fit" for it, of course implies that they are not fit for it now, and that it would be imprudent to give it to them now. But as we must ourselves be the judges as to when they become "fit," and when it would be "prudent" to keep such a promise if it were made, it necessarily follows that to make such a promise now would amount to a deception upon the Filipinos.

A Policy of Scuttle.

It may well be that our opponents have no real intention of putting their promise into effect. If this is the case, if, in other words, they are insincere in the promise they make, it is only necessary to say again that it is unwise to trust men who are false in one thing to deal with anything. The mere consciousness of broken faith would hamper them in continuing our policy in the islands; and only by continuing unchanged this policy can the honor of the country be maintained, or the interests of the islands subserved. If, on the other hand, our opponents came into power and attempted to carry out their promises to the Filipinos by giving them independence, and withdrawing American control from the islands, the result would be a frightful calamity to the Filipinos themselves, and in its larger aspect would amount to an international crime. Anarchy would follow; and the most violent anarchic forces would be directed partly against the civil government, partly against all forms of religious and educational civilization. Bloody conflicts would inevitably ensue in the archipelago, and just as inevitably the islands would become the prey of the first power which in its own selfish interest took up the task we had cravenly abandoned. Of course the practical difficulty in adopting any such course of action—such a "policy of scuttle," as President McKinley called it—would be found well nigh insuperable. If it is morally indefensible to hold the archipelago as a whole under our tutelage in the interest of its own people, then it is morally indefensible

to hold any part of it. In such case what right have we to keep a coaling station? What right to keep control over the Moro peoples? What right to protect the Igorrotes from their oppressors? What right to protect the law-abiding friends of America in the islands from treachery, robbery and murder? Yet, to abandon the islands completely, without even retaining a coaling station, would mean to abandon the position in the competition for the trade of the Orient which we have acquired during the last six years; and what is far more important, it would mean irreparable damage to those who have become the wards of the Nation. To abandon all control over the Moros would amount to releasing these Moros to prey upon the Christian Filipinos, civilized or semi-civilized, as well as upon the commerce of other peoples. The Moros are in large part still in the stage of culture where the occupations of the bandit and the pirate are those most highly regarded; and it has not been found practical to give them self-government in the sense that we have been giving it to the Christian inhabitants. To abandon the Moro country, as our opponents propose in their platform, would be precisely as if twenty-five years ago we had withdrawn the army and the civil agents from within and around the Indian reservations in the West, at a time when the Sioux and the Apache were still the terror of our settlers. It would be a criminal absurdity; and yet our opponents have pledged themselves thereto. If successful in the coming election they would either have to break faith, or else to do an act which would leave an indelible stain upon our national reputation for courage, and for good sense. During the last five years more has been done for the material and moral well-being of the Filipinos than ever before since the islands first came within the ken of civilized man. We have opened before them a vista of orderly development in their own interest, and not a policy of exploitation. Every effort is being made to fit the islanders for self-government, and they have already in large measure received it, while for the first time in their history their personal rights and civil liberties have been guaranteed. They are being educated; they have been given schools; they have been given libraries; roads are being built for their use; their health is being cared for; they have been given courts in which they receive justice as absolute as it is in our power to guarantee. Their individual rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are now by act of Congress jealously safeguarded under the American flag; and if the protection of the

flag were withdrawn their rights would be lost, and the islands would be plunged back under some form of vicious tyranny. We have given them more self-government than they have ever before had; we are taking steps to increase it still further by providing them with an elected legislative assembly; and surely we had better await the results of this experiment—for it is a wholly new experiment in Asia—before we make promises which as a nation we might be forced to break, or which they might interpret one way and we in another. It may be asserted without fear of successful contradiction that nowhere else in recent years has there been as fine an example of constructive statesmanship and wise and upright Administration as has been given by the civil authorities, aided by the army, in the Philippine Islands. We have administered them in the interest of their own people; and the Filipinos themselves have profited most by our presence in the islands; but they have also been of very great advantage to us as a nation.

So far from having "sapped the foundations" of free popular government at home by the course taken in the Philippines, we have been spreading its knowledge, and teaching its practice, among peoples to whom it had never before been more than an empty name. Our action represents a great stride forward in spreading the principles of orderly liberty throughout the world. "Our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores." We have treated the power we have gained as a solemn obligation, and have used it in the interest of mankind; and the peoples of the world and especially the weaker peoples of the world, are better off because of the position we have assumed. To retrace our steps would be to give proof of an infirm and unstable national purpose.

Four years ago, in his speech of acceptance President McKinley said:

"We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty. There will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat. No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be. We will perform without fear every national and international obligation. The Republican party was dedicated to freedom forty-four years ago. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession, but of performance. It broke the shackles of four million slaves, and made them free, and to the party of

Lincoln has come another supreme opportunity which it has bravely met in the liberation of ten millions of the human family from the yoke of imperialism. In its solution of great problems, in its performance of high duties, it has had the support of members of all parties in the past, and it confidently invokes their co-operation in the future."

This is as true now as four years ago. We did not take the Philippines at will, and we cannot put them aside at will. Any abandonment of the policy which we have steadily pursued in the islands would be fraught with dishonor and disaster; and to such dishonor and disaster I do not believe that the American people will consent.

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Alarm has been professed lest the Filipinos should not receive all the benefits guaranteed to our people at home by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. As a matter of fact, the Filipinos have already secured the substance of these benefits. This Government has been true to the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment in the Philippines. Can our opponents deny that here at home the principles of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been in effect nullified? In this, as in many other matters, we at home can well profit by the example of those responsible for the actual management of affairs in the Philippines. In our several commonwealths here in the United States we as a people now face the complex problem of securing fair treatment to each man regardless of his race or color. We can do so only if we approach the problem in the spirit of courage, common sense, and high-minded devotion to the right, which has enabled Governor Taft, Governor Wright, and their associates, to do so noble a work in giving to the Philippine people the benefit of the true principles of American liberty.

We Press Steadily Forward.

Our appeal is made to all good citizens who hold the honor and the interest of the nation close to their hearts. The great issues which are at stake, and upon which I have touched, are more than mere partisan issues, for they involve much that comes home to the individual pride and individual well-being of our people. Under conditions as they actually are, good Americans should refuse, for the sake of the welfare of the nation, to change the national policy. We, who are responsible for the adminis-

tration and legislation under which this country, during the last seven years, has grown so greatly in well-being at home and in honorable repute among the nations of the earth abroad, do not stand inertly upon this record, do not use this record as an excuse for failure of effort to meet new conditions. On the contrary, we treat the record of what we have done in the past as incitement to do even better in the future. We believe that the progress that we have made may be taken as a measure of the progress we shall continue to make if the people again entrust the Government of the Nation to our hands. We do not stand still. We press steadily forward toward the goal of moral and material well-being for our own people, of just and fearless dealing toward all other peoples, in the interest not merely of this country, but of mankind. There is not a policy, foreign or domestic, which we are now carrying out, which it would not be disastrous to reverse or abandon. If our opponents should come in and should not reverse our policies, then they would be branded with the brand of broken faith, of false promise, of insincerity in word and deed; and no man can work to the advantage of the Nation with such a brand clinging to him. If, on the other hand they should come in and reverse any or all of our policies, by just so much would the Nation as a whole be damaged. Alike as lawmakers and as administrators of the law we have endeavored to do our duty in the interest of the people as a whole. We make our appeal to no class and to no section, but to all good citizens, in whatever part of the land they dwell, and whatever may be their occupation or worldly condition. We have striven both for civic righteousness and for National greatness; and we have faith to believe that our hands will be upheld by all who feel love of country and trust in the uplifting of mankind. We stand for enforcement of the law and for obedience to the law; our Government is a government of orderly liberty equally alien to tyranny and to anarchy; and its foundation-stone is the observance of the law, alike by the people and by the public servants. We hold ever before us as the all-important end of policy and administration the reign of peace at home and throughout the world; of peace, which comes only by doing justice.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



The Republican Party

"A party fit to govern"

An Address by

John Hay

Delivered at Jackson, Mich., July 6, 1904

and

The Address of

Elihu Root

As Temporary Chairman of the National Republican Convention
at Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, June 21, 1904

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES.

FIFTY YEARS *OF THE* *REPUBLICAN PARTY*

I
AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

JOHN HAY

Secretary of State of the United States

AT JACKSON, MICH.

July 6, 1904

A century is but a moment of history; it has often happened that several of them have passed away, since men began to record their deeds, with little change in the physical aspect or the moral progress of the world. But at other times—of intense action and spiritual awakening—a single generation may form an epoch; and few periods of equal duration in political annals have been so crowded with great events as the fifty years we celebrate to-day. Under the oaks of Jackson, on the 6th of July, 1854, a party was brought into being and baptized, which ever since has answered the purposes of its existence with fewer follies and failures and more magnificent achievements than ordinarily fall to the lot of any institution of mortal origin. And even the beginning of the end is not yet. This historic party is only now in the full maturity of its power and its capacity for good. We look back upon a past of unparalleled usefulness and glory with emotions of thankfulness and pride; we confront the future and its exacting problems

with a confidence born of the experience of difficulties surmounted and triumphs achieved in paths more thorny and ways more arduous than any that are likely to challenge the courage and the conscience of the generation which is to follow us. It is meet that at this stage of our journey we should review the past and read its lessons, and in its light take heart for what lies beyond.

Origin of the Republican Party.

The Republican Party had a noble origin. It sprang directly from an aroused and indignant national conscience. Questions of finance, of political economy, of orderly administration, passed out of sight for the moment, to be taken up and dealt with later on. But in 1854 the question that brought the thinking men together was whether there should be a limit to the aggressions of slavery; and in 1861 that solemn inquiry turned to one still more portentous, Should the nation live or die? The humblest old Republican in America has a right to be proud that in the days of his youth, in the presence of these momentous questions, he judged right; and if he is sleeping in his honored grave his children may justly be glad of his decision.

It was not so easy fifty years ago to take sides against the slave power as it may seem to-day. Respect for the vested rights of the Southern people was one of our most sacred traditions. It was founded on the compromises of the Constitution, and upon a long line of legal and legislative precedents. The men of the Revolution made no defence of slavery in itself; Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Franklin deplored its existence, but recognized the necessity of compromise until the public mind might rest in the hope of its ultimate extinction. But after they had passed away, improvements in the culture and manufacture of cotton made this uneconomic form of labor for the time profitable, and what had been merely tolerated as a temporary necessity began to be upheld as a permanent system. Slavery entrenched itself in every department of our public life. Its advocates domi-

nated Congress and the State Legislatures; they even invaded the pulpit and grotesquely wrested a few texts of Scripture to their purpose. They gave the tone to society; even the Southern accent was imitated in our schools and colleges.

The Slavery Question

If the slaveholders had been content with their unquestioned predominance, they might for many years have controlled our political and social world. It was natural for the conservative people of the North to say: "We deplore the existence of slavery, but we are all to blame for it; we should not cast upon our brethren in the South the burdens and perils of its abolition. We must bear with the unfortunate condition of things and take our share of its inconveniences." But the slaveholding party could not rest content. The ancients said that madness was the fate of those judged by the gods. Continual aggression is a necessity of a false position. They felt instinctively that if their system were permanently to endure it must be extended, and to attain this object they were ready to risk everything. They rent in twain the compromises which had protected them so long. They tore down the bulwarks which had at once restricted and defended them; and confiding in their strength and our patience they boldly announced and inaugurated the policy of the indefinite extension of their "peculiar institution."

Once embarked upon this fatal enterprise, they left nothing undone which could contribute to the catastrophe upon which they were rushing. The Whig Party had gone to ruin in 1852 on account of the impossibility of combining the scattered elements of opposition to the party of pro-slavery aggression; but they themselves furnished the weapon which was to defeat them. In May, 1854, after several months of passionate debate, to which the country listened with feverish interest, Congress passed the bill organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, omitting the restrictions of the Missouri Compromise which excluded slavery

from them. This action at once precipitated the floating anti-slavery sentiment of the country. A mighty cry of resolute indignation arose from one end of the land to the other. The hollow truce, founded upon the legitimate compromises which had been observed in good faith by one side and ruthlessly violated by the other, was at an end. Men began to search their consciences instead of the arguments of political expediency. A discussion of the right and wrong of slavery became general; the light was let in, fatal to darkness. A system which degraded men, dishonored women, deprived little children of the sacred solace of home, was doomed from the hour it passed into the arena of free debate. And even if we shut our eyes to the moral aspects of that heartless system, and confined ourselves to the examination of its economic merits, it was found to be wasteful and inefficient. The Americans are at once the most sentimental and the most practical of peoples—and when they see that an institution is morally revolting, and, besides, does not pay, its fate is sealed.

For Liberty Under the Law.

Yet the most wonderful feature of that extraordinary campaign which then began, and which never ceased until the land was purged of its deadly sin, was that even in the very "tempest and whirlwind of their passion" the great leaders of the Republican Party kept their agitation strictly within the limits of the Constitution and the law. There was no general demand for even an amendment to the organic instrument. They pleaded for the repeal of unjust statutes as inconsistent with the Constitution, but did not advocate their violation. Only among the more obscure and ardent members of the party was there any demand for the abolition of slavery, but the whole party stood like a rock for the principle that the damnable institution must be content with what it had already got, and must not be allowed to pollute another inch of free soil. On this impregnable ground they made their stand; and the mass convention which assembled here in 1854, while the

vibrations of the thunder of the guns and the shoutings of the birthday of Liberty yet lingered in the air, gave a nucleus and a name to the new party, destined to a great and beneficent career. Before the month ended, the anti-slavery men of five more great States adopted the name "Republican," and under that banner Congress was carried, and two years later a national party assembled at Pittsburg and nominated Fremont and Dayton, who failed by a few votes of sweeping the North.

Who of us that was living then will ever forget the ardent enthusiasm of those days? It was one of those periods, rare in the life of any nation, when men forget themselves and, in spite of habit, of interest, and of prejudice, follow their consciences wherever they may lead. In the clear, keen air that was abroad the best men in the country drew deeper breaths and rose to a moral height they had not before attained. The movement was universal. Sumner in the East, Seward in New York, Chase in Ohio, Bates in Missouri, Blair in Maryland, all sent forth their identical appeal to the higher motive; and in Illinois, where the most popular man in the State boldly and cynically announced, "I don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down," a voice, new to the nation, replied, "There are some of us who do care. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong"—and Abraham Lincoln came upon the field not to leave it until he was triumphant in death.

Early Struggles.

I have no right to detain you at this hour in recounting the history of those memorable days. Two incidents of the long battle will never be forgotten. One was the physical and political contest for the possession of Kansas, carried on with desperate courage and recklessness of consequences by the pro-slavery party on the one side, and, on the other, by the New England farmers, whose weapons of aggression were Bible texts and the words of Jefferson, and whose arms of defence were Sharpe's rifles. With words that ring even now when we read them, like the clashing of

swords, the Slave State men claimed Kansas as their right, and the Free State men replied in the words of the prophet before Herod. It is not lawful for you to have her. And when the talking sharpened to the physical clinch, the praying men fought with the same ferocity as the men who cursed. In the field of political discussion the most dramatic incident of the fight was the debate between Lincoln and Douglas. Not many of you saw that battle of the strong, where each of the gladiators had an adversary worthy of his steel, where the audiences were equally divided, where the combatants were fairly matched in debating skill and address, and where the superiority of Lincoln was not so much personal as it was in the overwhelming strength of his position. He was fighting for freedom and could say so; Douglas was fighting for slavery and could not avow it. The result of the contest is now seen to have been inevitable. Douglas was re-elected to the Senate but had gained also the resentful suspicion of the South, which two years later disowned him and defeated his life-long ambition. Lincoln became at once the foremost Republican of the West, and a little later the greatest political figure of the century.

If there is one thing more than another in which we Republicans are entitled to a legitimate pride, it is that Lincoln was our first President; that we believed in him, loyally supported him while he lived, and that we have never lost the right to call ourselves his followers. There is not a principle avowed by the Republican Party to-day which is out of harmony with his teachings or inconsistent with his character. We do not object to our opponents quoting him, praising him—even claiming him as their own. If it is not sincere, it is still a laudable tribute to acknowledged excellence. If it is genuine, it is still better, for even a Nebraska Populist who reads his Lincoln is in the way of salvation. But only those who believe in human rights and are willing to make sacrifices to defend them; who believe in the nation and its beneficent power; who believe in the American system of protection championed by a long line

of our greatest and best, running back from McKinley to Washington, and, as Senator Dolliver so truthfully said, "to the original sources of American common sense;" only those who believe in equal justice to labor and to capital; in honest money and the right to earn it, have any title to name themselves by the name of Lincoln, or to claim a moral kinship with that august and venerated spirit. I admit it would be little less than sacrilege to try to trade upon that benignant Renown, whose light "folds in this orb o' the earth." But we who have always tried to walk in the road he pointed out cannot be deprived of the tender pride of calling ourselves his disciples, and of doing in his name the work allotted to us by Providence. And I hope I am violating neither the confidence of a friend nor the proprieties of an occasion like this when I refer to the ardent and able young statesman who is now, and is to be, our President, to let you know that in times of doubt and difficulty the thought oftenest in his heart is, "What, in such a case, would Lincoln have done?"

Abraham Lincoln.

As we are removed further and further from the founders of our party and their mighty work, their names and their fame rise every year higher in the great perspective of history. The clamor of hatred and calumny dies away. The efforts made to weaken the hands of Lincoln and his associates are forgotten. The survivors of those who so bitterly attacked him and his cause, which was the cause of the country, are now themselves astonished when confronted with the words they then uttered. But it was against a political opposition not less formidable and efficient than the armed force beyond the Potomac that the Union men of that day, and their President, had to struggle. It was not merely the losses in battle, the waste of our wealth, the precious blood of our young men, that filled Lincoln's heart with anguish and made him old before his time, but it was the storm of partisan hostility that raged against him, filling the air with slanders and thwarting his

most earnest and unselfish efforts for the country's good. But in spite of it all he persevered, never for a moment tempted by the vast power he wielded to any action not justified by the moral and the organic law. I have always liked the inscription on the medal which the workmen of France, by one-cent subscriptions, caused to be struck after his death: "Abraham Lincoln, the honest man. Waged war. Abolished slavery. Twice elected President without veiling the statue of liberty." This was an achievement new to the world; that a man and a party, armed with an authority so unquestioned and so stupendous, in the very current of a vast war, should have submitted themselves so rigidly to the law—and never have dreamed there was anything meritorious about it. Then, if never before, we proved we were as fit to be free as the men who achieved our freedom.

The world learned other lessons in swift succession. We disbanded our army—sent them home to earn their livings as simple citizens of the land they had saved, without terms or conditions; they asked none; they wanted peace; they were glad to get to work. And there were no reprisals, not a man punished for rebellion or treason; not an act of violence sullied the glory of victory. The fight had been fierce, but loyal; we at least wished the reconciliation to be perfect. Then came the paying of our debts. To whom is the credit due of that enormous task, that sublime effort of common honesty, if not to the Party which against every assault of open and covert repudiation stood by the country's honor and kept it free from stain?

The Record of the Party.

Let me hurriedly enumerate a few of the events in the long and fruitful career of the Republican Party which seem to us to entitle it to the confidence of the country and the final approval of history. After the war was ended and peace re-established, with no damage to the structure of the Government, but, on the contrary, with added strength and with increased guaranties of its

perpetuity, it remained to be shown whether the power and success of the Republican Party were to be permanent, or whether, born of a crisis, it was fitted to cope with the problems of daily national life. It had destroyed slavery, or, perhaps we might better say, it had created the conditions by which slavery had committed suicide. In the absence of this great adversary, could the party hold together against the thousand lesser evils that beset the public life of modern peoples—the evils of ignorance, corruption, avarice and lawlessness, the prejudices of race and of class, the voices of demagogues, the cunning of dishonest craft, the brutal tyranny of the boss, the venality of the mean? I think it is not too much to say that the last forty years have given an answer, full of glory and honor, to that question. The Republican Party, in the mass and in detail, has shown its capacity to govern. By the homestead law, with equal generosity and wisdom, it distributed the immense national domain among the citizens who were willing to cultivate it and who have converted wide stretches of wilderness into smiling homes. It built the Pacific Railroad, which has bound the Union together from East to West by bands of steel and made the States beyond the mountains among our most loyal and prosperous commonwealths. It redeemed our paper currency and made all our forms of money of exactly equal value, and our credit the best in the world. By persistent honesty in our finances—in the face of obstacles which might have daunted the hardest statesmen—it has reduced our interest charges so that in any mart on earth we can borrow money cheaper than any other people. In the financial revolutions to which all communities are subject, we are able, thanks to our laws and our administrative system, to meet and pass the most violent crises without lasting damage to our prosperity. We have, by the patient labor of years, so succeeded in reforming and regulating our civil service that patronage has almost ceased to cast its deadly blight upon the work of our public servants. Human nature is weak and offenses happen; but they are almost

always found out and are punished without mercy when detected. By persistent adherence to the policy of protection, we have given to our industries a development which the fathers of the Republic never dreamed of; which, besides supplying our home market, has carried our manufactures to the uttermost ends of the earth.

Prosperity Under Republican Rule.

History affords no parallel to the vast and increasing prosperity which this country has enjoyed under Republican rule. I hasten to say we do not claim to have invented seedtime and harvest, and industry and thrift. We are a great people and success is our right; God is good to those who behave themselves. But we may justly claim that the Republican Party has been in power during these years of marvelous growth, and we can at least bring proof that we have not prevented it—and this is no slight honor for a party to claim. I will not at this moment speak of the important acquisitions of territory we have made, which render us in many ways the predominant power in the Pacific. But out of the territory we already possessed, fourteen new States have entered the Union. The census of 1850 gave us 23,000,000 of population—the last one, 76,000,000. The number of our farms—the total of our cultivated acreage—has increased fourfold. Our corn crop is five times what it was; our wheat crop, six times. The capital invested in manufacturing has grown from five hundred millions to ten billions; where it employed less than a million artisans, it now employs more than five millions; and while the number of workingmen has increased five times, their wages have increased tenfold. The value of manufactured property is thirteen times what it was when the Republicans of Michigan met under the oaks. The real and personal wealth of the country has grown in this amazing half century from seven thousand millions to ninety-four thousand millions. Our railroads have grown from a mileage of 16,000 to one of 200,000. Our imports and exports have gone up by leaps and bounds to the same monstrous

proportions. And, finally, let us hasten to say, as the other side will say it for us, instead of the \$47,000,000 which supplied our modest needs in 1850, we now collect and spend some \$700,000,000 annually. I can only add what Speaker Reed replied to a Democratic statesman, who complained of a billion dollar Congress: "Well, this is a billion dollar country!"

The Republican Party of To-day.

Of course our opponents, who have got far enough from the men and the events of the great war period to admit they were not without merit, will say—for they must say something—that we have fallen away from that high level. Now, I am grieved to confess that I am old enough to have seen something of the beginning, as well as of the present, of Republican Administrations, and I venture to say that no eight years of government in our history have been purer from blame or have conferred greater benefits upon the country than the eight years of McKinley and Roosevelt which claim your approval to-day. I need not hesitate to refer to it, although I have been associated with both administrations; so little of their merit is mine that I may speak of them without false modesty. Our national finances have never in our history been so wisely and successfully administered; our credit never stood on a basis so broad and so strong. Our two-percents command a premium in all markets—no other country on earth can say as much. We paid abroad the other day fifty millions of gold in a single transaction without producing a ripple in exchange. The vast expenditure made necessary by our enormous increase in every element of national growth is collected with the utmost ease and expended with perfect honesty. Our protective system, loyally and intelligently carried out and improved in the last seven years, not only fills our Treasury with the means of national expenditure, but has carried our industries and our commerce to a height of prosperity which is the wonder and envy of our neighbors, who are trying to emulate our progress. In the relations

between labor and capital, always a subject of deep concern in democratic governments, we have improved both in the letter and the spirit. How could it be otherwise when labor knows that McKinley and Roosevelt have watched over its interest as a brother might, and capital knows that its rights will be sacredly guarded so long as it is true to its duties? As to our place in the world, it has simply followed and naturally complemented the steady improvement in our domestic condition. A country growing so fast must have elbow room—must have its share of the sunshine. In the last seven years, without aggression, without undue self-assertion, we have taken the place that belonged to us. Adhering with religious care to the precepts of Washington and the traditions of a century, and avoiding all entangling alliances, professing friendship to all nations and partiality to none, McKinley and Roosevelt have gone steadily forward protecting and extending American interests everywhere and gaining, by deserving it, the good will of all the world.

Foreign Policy.

Their advice has been constantly sought and sparingly given. By constant iteration their policy has been made plain. We do not covet the territory nor the control of any other people. We hold ourselves absolutely apart from any combinations or groups of powers. We favor no national interests but our own. In controversies among our neighbors we take no part, not even tendering good offices unless at the request of both parties concerned. When our advice is given, it is always on the side of peace and conciliation. We have made, it is true, great acquisitions, but never of set purpose nor from greed of land. In the case of Hawaii, the will of the people of those islands coincided with the important interests we have to guard in the Pacific. In the Samoan treaty we freed ourselves from a useless and dangerous entanglement, and in place of an undesirable condominium we gained possession of the best harbor in the South Seas, retaining at the

same time, all our commercial rights in the archipelago. The diplomacy of McKinley and Roosevelt has been directed principally to our present and future interests in the Pacific, on whose wide shores so much of the world's work is to be done. They have constantly kept in view the vast importance of that opening field of our activities. The long negotiations for the "open door" in China; the steadfast fight we made for the integrity of that ancient Empire; President McKinley's attitude throughout the Boxer troubles, so severely criticised at the time and so splendidly approved by the result; the position President Roosevelt has since held and now holds in regard to the neutrality of China in the present war—have all been dictated by one consistent policy, of taking care that our interests receive no detriment in the Pacific; that while we wish no harm to any one else, we shall see that no damage is done to our people, no door is shut in our face.

The negotiations begun by McKinley and successfully completed by Roosevelt for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which impeded our freedom of action in building an Isthmian canal, was a part of the same general plan of opening a field of enterprise in those distant regions where the Far West becomes the Far East. In this matter we were met in the most frank and friendly spirit by the British Government, as also in the matter of the Alaskan boundary, which was settled for all time by a high judicial tribunal removing a cloud upon our title to another great Pacific possession. And to close this record of success—monotonous because gained by appeals to reason rather than force, without parade or melodrama—came the treaty with Panama, by which we finally gained the pathway across the Isthmus by a perpetual grant, insuring the construction of an American canal under American control, built primarily for American needs, but open on equal terms to all the people of good will, the world over.

All the foreign policy of McKinley and Roosevelt has been marked with the same stamp of honesty and fair dealing, confessedly in American interests, but treating our friends with equity and

consideration. They have made more treaties than any two preceding Presidents; and the conclusion of the whole matter is that we stand to-day in independent though amicable relations to all the rest of the world—without an ally and without an enemy.

The Nation's Dependencies.

If the Government for the last seven years had done nothing else, it would have entitled itself to an honorable place in history by the manner in which it has handled the questions of the islands whose destiny has been so interwoven with our own. The war with Spain was carried through with credible swiftness and energy, without a shadow of corruption, without a moral or a technical fault. A hundred days sufficed for the fighting. Diplomacy then did its work, and our commissioners brought home a treaty so just and so beneficial that it was impossible to unite the opposition against it. Then came the far more difficult and delicate task of administration. You remember the doleful prophecies of evil with which the air was filled; that we had not the habit nor the ability to govern outlying possessions; that the islands would be cesspools of jobbery and fraud; that the enterprise was conceived in violence and would go out in disaster. And now you know the result. The Republic never is in default of men to serve it worthily when the Chief of the State is honest and able; when he has the eye and the will to choose the best men and will be satisfied with no less. So in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines we got the best we had. Wood, Allen and Hunt and Taft have each in his place wrought a great work and gained a righteous fame. Cuba and Porto Rico are free and enjoying—the one under her own banner, the other under the Stars and Stripes—a degree of prosperity and happiness never known before in all their troubled story. As to the Philippines, the work done there by Judge Taft and his associates will rank among the highest achievements of colonial administration recorded in history. Never since their discovery has there been such general peace and order; so thorough

a protection of the peaceable and restraint of evil-doers; so wide a diffusion of education; so complete a guaranty to industry of the fruit of its labors. And when they see this energetic and efficient government carried on, free from the venality and bribery which formerly seemed to them a necessity of existence, then, indeed, they are like them that dream. The principal evil from which they still suffer has its origin here. Some well-meaning people—and others not so well-meaning—are constantly persuading them that they are oppressed and that they will be given their liberty, as they choose to call it, as soon as the Republican Party is overthrown in this country. These are the true enemies of the Filipinos, and not the men who are striving with whole-hearted energy and with consummate success to ameliorate their condition and to make them fit for self-government and all its attendant advantages. The so-called anti-imperialists confound in their daily speeches and writings two absolutely unrelated ideas—the liberty, the civil rights, the self-government which we have given the Filipinos, and the independence which the best of them do not want and know they are unable to maintain. To abandon them now, to cast them adrift at the mercy of accident, would be an act of cowardice and treachery which would gain us the scorn and reproach of civilization.

The Aid of Patriotic Democrats.

Our opponents sometimes say we have no right to claim the credit of the great deeds of the last half century—that we could not have accomplished them without the aid of Democrats. Nothing truer was ever said; and it is one of the chief glories of our annals, and it forms the surest foundation of our hopes for the future. The principles upon which our party is built are so sound, they have so irresistible an attraction to patriotic and fair-minded men, that whenever a time of crisis comes, when the national welfare is clearly at stake, when voters must decide whether they shall follow their prejudices or their consciences, we draw from other

parties their best men by thousands. Bright among the brightest of those who founded our party shine the names of Democrats; and when the war came on, the picked men of that party rallied to the colors. Douglas, shortly before he died, declared his unfaltering support of Lincoln. The sun would go down before I could name the Democrats who fought like heroes for the country. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Dix, Sickles, Logan—in short, an innumerable host, Democrats all, rushed into the field and thereafter fought and worked with the Republicans while life lasted. And that vast majority of Lincoln's in 1864 would have been impossible had not myriads of Democrats, casting their life-long associations to the wind, listened to the inward monitor which said, "Choose you this day whom ye will serve." As it was then, so it has been in after years. When the attempt was made to repudiate, in whole or in part, the national debt; or to abolish the system of protection to American industries, founded by Washington and Hamilton, and approved by the experience of a hundred years; or to degrade our currency at the demand of mere ignorance and greed—in all these cases we saw the proof of the homely adage that you may lead a horse to the water, but may not make him drink. In spite of organizations and platforms, in spite of the frantic adjurations of gifted orators, hosts of patriotic Democrats walked quietly to the polls and voted as their consciences dictated, in the interests of the public welfare rather than of a party. Even in so lofty and restricted an arena as our Senate, we have seen the ablest and most adroit organizer of his party fail in the most energetic effort of his life to induce his party to reject a great national benefit because it was offered by Republican hands. Half the Democratic Senators said this was no question for pettifogging politics, and voted for an American canal across the Isthmus.

We are not claiming that we monopolize the virtue or the patriotism of the country. There are good men in all parties. I know far better men than I am who are Democrats. But we are surely allowed, in a love-feast like this, to talk of what has been done

by the family and at least to brag a little of the Democrats who have helped us. We get their votes for one reason only—because we started right and in the main have kept right. We invite accessions from the ranks of our patriotic opponents, and we shall get them in the future, as we have in the past, whenever we deserve them. We shall get them this year because this year we do deserve them. We come before the country in a position which cannot be successfully attacked in front, or flank, or rear. What we have done, what we are doing, and what we intend to do—on all three we confidently challenge the verdict of the American people. The record of fifty years will show whether as a party we are fit to govern; the state of our domestic and foreign affairs will show whether as a party we have fallen off; and both together will show whether we can be trusted for a while longer.

Our platform is before the country. Perhaps it is lacking in novelty. There is certainly nothing sensational about it. It is substantially the platform on which we won two great victories in the name of McKinley, and it is still sound and serviceable. Its principles have been tested by eight years of splendid success, and have received the approval of the country. It is in line with all our platforms of the past, except where prophecy and promise in those days have become history in these. We stand by the ancient ways which have proved good.

The Program of the Democratic Party.

It would take a wizard to guess what a dainty dish our adversaries will set before the sovereign people to-morrow. Their State conventions have given them a rich variety to choose from. As to money, they range all the way from Bedlam to Belmont; as to tariff, the one wing in Maryland is almost sane, the other wants raving free trade and dynamite for the custom-houses. When they discuss our island possessions, some want to scuttle away and abandon them out of hand; others agree with that sensible Southerner who said: "What's the use of talking about expansion?"

Great Scott! we've done expanded!" One thing is reasonably sure: they will get as near to our platform as they possibly can, and they will by implication approve everything McKinley and Roosevelt have done in the last four years. They will favor sound finance and a tariff which will not disturb business; rigid honesty in administration and prompt punishment of the dishonest; the Monroe Doctrine and an Isthmian canal. To be logical they ought to go on and nominate the Republican candidates who are pledged to all these laudable policies.

But they will not be logical. They do not care to oppose our policy; they merely deny our sincerity in avowing it. They cannot deny the soundness of our principles; they pretend themselves to hold them. But the function of an opposition is to oppose, and as they are otherwise destitute of an issue they seek to make a few by attributing to us principles we have never dreamed of holding and policies which are abhorrent to us. And distrusting the effect of these maneuvers in advance, they announce their plan of campaign to be not pro-anything, but anti-Roosevelt. This is a mere counsel of desperation, and the Republicans will gladly accept the issue.

Theodore Roosevelt.

Even on this narrow issue they will dodge most of the details. Ask them: Has the President been a good citizen, a good soldier, a good man in all personal relations? Is he a man of intelligence, of education? Does he know this country well? Does he know the world outside? Has he studied law, history and politics? Has he had great chances to learn, and has he improved them? Is he sound and strong in mind, body and soul? Is he accessible and friendly to all sorts and conditions of men? Has he the courage and the candor, and the God-given ability to speak to the people and tell them what he thinks? To all these questions they will answer, Yes. Then what is your objection to him? They will either stand speechless or they will answer with the parrot cry which we have heard so often: He is unsafe!

In a certain sense we shall have to admit this to be true. To every grade of lawbreaker, high or low; to a man who would rob a till or a ballot-box; to the sneak or the bully; to the hypocrite and the humbug, Theodore Roosevelt is more than unsafe; he is positively dangerous.

But let us be serious with these good people. What are the coefficients of safety in a Chief of State? He should have courage; the wisest coward that ever lived is not fit to rule. And intelligence; we want no blunder-headed hero in the White House. And honesty; a clever thief would do infinite mischief. These three are the indispensables. With them a man is all the more safe if he has a sense of proportion, a sense of humor, a wide knowledge of men and affairs; if he seeks good counsel; and finally, if he is a patriot, if he loves his country, believes in it, and seeks in all things its interest and its glory. All men may make mistakes, but such a man as this will make few, and no grave ones.

Such a man is our President and our candidate. He is prompt and energetic, but he takes infinite pains to get at the facts before he acts. In all the crises in which he has been accused of undue haste, his action has been the result of long meditation and well-reasoned conviction. If he thinks rapidly, that is no fault; he thinks thoroughly, and that is the essential. When he made peace between the miners and the operators, it was no sudden caprice, but the fruit of serious reflection, and this act of mingled philanthropy and common sense was justified by a great practical result. When he proclaimed anew the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuela case his action was followed by the most explicit acceptance of that saving policy which has ever come to us from over-seas. He acted very swiftly, it is true, in Mississippi, when the best citizens of a town threatened the life of a postmistress for no fault but her color. He simply said: "Very well, gentlemen; you may get your letters somewhere else for a while."

And as to the merger suits, now that people have come to their senses they see that his action in that case was as regular as

the equinox. He was informed through legal channels that a statute had been violated. He did not make the statute, but he was bound by his oath to execute it. He brought the proceeding which it was his duty to bring. The courts, from the lowest to the highest, sustained his action. He did what it would have been a high misdemeanor not to have done. The laws in this country are made to be obeyed, whether it is safe or not. It is always unsafe to disobey them.

But there has been more noise made over his suddenness on the Isthmus of Panama than elsewhere. It is difficult to treat this charge with seriousness. The President had made a treaty with Colombia at her own solicitation, which was infinitely to her advantage, to inaugurate an enterprise which was to be for the benefit of the world. He waited with endless patience while Bogota delayed and trifled with the matter, and finally rejected it, and suggested new negotiations for a larger sum. Panama, outraged by this climax of the wrongs she had already suffered, declared and established her independence. The President, following an unbroken line of precedents, entered into relations with the new Republic, and, obeying his duty to protect the transit of the Isthmus, as all other Presidents had done before him, gave orders that there should be no bloodshed on the line of the railway. He said, like Grant, "Let us have peace," and we had it. It will seem incredible to posterity that any American could have objected to this. He acted wisely and beneficently, and all some people can find to criticise in his action is that he was too brisk about it. If a thing is right and proper to do, it does not make it criminal to do it promptly. No, gentlemen! That was a time when the hour and the man arrived together. He struck while the iron was white hot on the anvil of opportunity, and forged as perfect a bit of honest statecraft as this generation has seen.

We could desire no better fortune, in the campaign upon which we are entering, than that the other side should persist in their announced intention to make the issue upon President Roosevelt.

What a godsend to our orators! It takes some study, some research, to talk about the tariff, or the currency, or foreign policy. But to talk about Roosevelt! it is as easy as to sing "the glory of the Graeme." Of gentle birth and breeding, yet a man of the people in the best sense; with the training of a scholar and the breezy accessibility of a ranchman; a man of the library and a man of the world; an athlete and a thinker; a soldier and a statesman; a reader, a writer, and a maker of history; with the sensibility of a poet and the steel nerve of a rough rider; one who never did, and never could, turn his back on a friend or an enemy. A man whose merits are so great that he could win on his merits alone; whose personality is so engaging that you lose sight of his merits. Make their fight on a man like that! What irreverent caricaturist was it that called them the Stupid party?

In our candidate for the Vice-Presidency, we have followed the old and commendable custom of the Republic and have nominated a man in every way fit for the highest place in the nation, who will bring to the Presidency of the Senate an ability and experience rarely equaled in its history.

The Republican Party as a Party of Men of Action.

I have detained you too long; yet as I close I want to say a word to the young men whose political life is beginning. Any one entering business would be glad of the chance to become one of an established firm with years of success behind it, with a wide connection, with unblemished character, with credit founded on a rock. How infinitely brighter the future when the present is so sure, the past so glorious! Everything great done by this country in the last fifty years has been done under the auspices of the Republican Party. Is not this consciousness a great asset to have in your mind and memory? As a mere item of personal comfort is it not worth having? Lincoln and Grant, Hayes and Garfield, Harrison and McKinley—names secure in the heaven of fame—they all are gone, leaving small estates in worldly goods, but what vast pos-

sessions in principles, memories, sacred associations! It is a start in life to share that wealth. Who now boasts that he opposed Lincoln? who brags of his voting against Grant? though both acts may have been from the best of motives. In our form of government there must be two parties, and tradition, circumstances, temperament, will always create a sufficient opposition. But what young man would not rather belong to the party that does things, instead of one that opposes them; to the party that looks up, rather than down; to the party of the dawn, rather than of the sunset? For fifty years the Republican Party has believed in the country and labored for it in hope and joy; it has revered the flag and followed it; it has carried it under strange skies and planted it on far-receding horizons. It has seen the nation grow greater every year and more respected; by just dealing, by intelligent labor, by a genius for enterprise, it has seen the country extend its intercourse and its influence to regions unknown to our fathers. Yet it has never abated one jot or tittle of the ancient law imposed on us by our God-fearing ancestors. We have fought a good fight, but also we have kept the faith. The Constitution of our fathers has been the light to our feet; our path is, and will ever remain, that of ordered progress, of liberty under the law. The country has vastly increased, but the great-brained statesmen who preceded us provided for infinite growth. The discoveries of science have made miraculous additions to our knowledge. But we are not daunted by progress; we are not afraid of the light. The fabric our fathers builded on such sure foundations will stand all shocks of fate or fortune. There will always be a proud pleasure in looking back on the history they made; but, guided by their example, the coming generation has the right to anticipate work not less important, days equally memorable to mankind. We who are passing off the stage bid you, as the children of Israel encamping by the sea were bidden, to Go Forward; we whose hands can no longer hold the flaming torch pass it on to you that its clear light may show the truth to the ages that are to come.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF TO-DAY AS AN EF- FECTIVE GOVERN- ING FORCE

II

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

ELIHU ROOT

***As Temporary Chairman of the National Republican
Convention***

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Tuesday, June 21, 1904

The responsibility of government rests upon the Republican Party. The complicated machinery through which the 80,000,000 people of the United States govern themselves, answers to no single will. The composite government devised by the framers of the Constitution to meet the conditions of national life more than a century ago, requires the willing co-operation of many minds, the combination of many independent factors, in every forward step for the general welfare.

The President at Washington with his Cabinet, the ninety Senators representing forty-five sovereign States, the three hundred and eighty-six Representatives in Congress, are required to reach concurrent action upon a multitude of questions involving varied and conflicting interests and requiring investigation, information, discussion, and reconciliation of views. From all our vast territory with its varieties of climate and industry, from all our great population active in production and commerce and social progress and

intellectual and moral life to a degree never before attained by any people, difficult problems press upon the National Government.

Within the past five years more than sixty-six thousand bills have been introduced in Congress. Some method of selection must be followed. There must be some preliminary process to ascertain the general tenor of public judgment upon the principles to be applied in government, and some organization and recognition of leadership which shall bring a legislative majority and the executive into accord in the practical application of those principles; or effective government becomes impossible.

Government by Party.

The practical governing instinct of our people has adapted the machinery devised in the 18th to the conditions of the 20th century by the organization of national political parties. In them men join for the promotion of a few cardinal principles upon which they agree. For the sake of those principles they lay aside their differences upon less important questions. To represent those principles and to carry on the government in accordance with them, they present to the people candidates whose competency and loyalty they approve. The people by their choice of candidates indicate the principles and methods which they wish followed in the conduct of their government. They do not merely choose between men; they choose between parties—between the principles they profess, the methods they follow, the trustworthiness of their professions, the inferences to be drawn from the records of their past, the general weight of character of the body of men who will be brought into participation in government by their ascendancy.

When the course of the next administration is but half done the Republican Party will have completed the first half century of its national life. Of the eleven administrations since the first election of Abraham Lincoln, nine—covering a period of thirty-six years—have been under Republican Presidents. For the greater part of that time, the majority in each House of Congress has been Republican. History affords no parallel in any age or country for the growth in national greatness and power and honor, the wide diffusion of the comforts of life, the uplifting of the great mass of the people above the hard conditions of poverty, the com-

men opportunity for education and individual advancement, the universal possession of civil and religious liberty, the protection of property and security for the rewards of industry and enterprise, the cultivation of national morality, respect for religion, sympathy with humanity and love of liberty and justice, which have marked the life of the American people during this long period of Republican control.

With the platform and the candidates of this Convention, we are about to ask a renewed expression of popular confidence in the Republican Party.

We shall ask it because the principles to which we declare our adherence are right, and the best interests of our country require that they should be followed in its government.

The Record of the Republican Party.

We shall ask it because the unbroken record of the Republican Party in the past is an assurance of the sincerity of our declarations and the fidelity with which we shall give them effect. Because we have been constant in principle, loyal to our beliefs, and faithful to our promises we are entitled to be believed and trusted now.

We shall ask it because the character of the party gives assurance of good government. A great political organization, competent to govern, is not a chance collection of individuals brought together for the moment as the shifting sands are piled up by wind and sea, to be swept away, to be formed and reformed again. It is a growth. Traditions and sentiments reaching down through struggles of years gone, and the stress and heat of old conflicts, and the influence of leaders passed away, and the ingrained habit of applying fixed rules of interpretation and of thought—all give to a political party known and inalienable qualities from which must follow in its deliberate judgment and ultimate action, like results for good or bad government. We do not deny that other parties have in their membership men of morality and patriotism; but we assert with confidence that above all others, by the influences which gave it birth and have maintained its life, by the causes for which it has striven, the ideals which it has followed, the Republican Party as a party has acquired a character which makes its ascendancy the best guaranty of a government loyal to principle and effective

in execution. Through it more than any other political organization the moral sentiment of America finds expression. It cannot depart from the direction of its tendencies. From what it has been may be known certainly what it must be. Not all of us rise to its standard; not all of us are worthy of its glorious history; but as a whole this great political organization—the party of Lincoln and McKinley—cannot fail to work in the spirit of its past and in loyalty to great ideals.

We shall ask the continued confidence of the people because the candidates whom we present are of proved competency and patriotism, fitted to fill the offices for which they are nominated, to the credit and honor of our country.

We shall ask it because the present policies of our government are beneficial and ought not to be set aside; and the people's business is being well done, and ought not to be interfered with.

The Administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt.

Have not the American people reason for satisfaction and pride in the conduct of their government since the election of 1900, when they rendered their judgment of approval upon the first administration of President McKinley? Have we not had an honest government? Have not the men selected for office been men of good reputation who by their past lives had given evidence that they were honest and competent? Can any private business be pointed out in which lapses from honesty have been so few and so trifling proportionately, as in the public service of the United States? And when they have occurred, have not the offenders been relentlessly prosecuted and sternly punished without regard to political or personal relations?

Have we not had an effective government? Have not the laws been enforced? Has not the slow process of legislative discussion upon many serious questions been brought to practical conclusions embodied in beneficial statutes? and has not the Executive proceeded without vacillation or weakness to give these effect? Are not the laws of the United States obeyed at home? and does not our government command respect and honor throughout the world?

Have we not had a safe and conservative government? Has not property been protected? Are not the fruits of enterprise and industry secure? What safeguard of the Constitution for

vested right or individual freedom has not been scrupulously observed? When has any American administration ever dealt more considerately and wisely with questions which might have been the cause of conflict with foreign powers? When have more just settlements been reached by peaceful means? When has any administration wielded a more powerful influence for peace? and when have we rested more secure in friendship with all mankind?

Taxation and Finance.

Four years ago the business of the country was loaded with burdensome internal taxes, imposed during the war with Spain. By the Acts of March 2d, 1901, and April 12th, 1902, the country has been wholly relieved of that annual burden of over one hundred million dollars; and the further accumulation of a surplus which was constantly withdrawing the money of the country from circulation has been prevented by the reduction of taxation.

Between the 30th of June, 1900, and the 1st of June, 1904, our Treasury Department collected in revenues the enormous sum of \$2,203,000,000 and expended \$2,028,000,000, leaving us with a surplus of over \$170,000,000 after paying the \$50,000,000 for the Panama Canal and loaning \$4,600,000 to the St. Louis Exposition. Excluding those two extraordinary payments, which are investments from past surplus and not expenditures of current income, the surplus for this year will be the reasonable amount of about \$12,000,000.

The vast and complicated transactions of the Treasury, which for the last fiscal year show actual cash receipts of \$4,250,290,262 and disbursements of \$4,113,199,414, have been conducted with accuracy and fidelity and without the loss of a dollar. Under wise management the Financial Act of March 14th, 1900, which embodied the sound financial principles of the Republican Party and provided for the maintenance of our currency on the stable basis of the gold standard, has wrought out beneficial results. On the 1st of November, 1899, the interest-bearing debt of the United States was \$1,046,049,020. On the 1st of May last the amount of that debt was \$895,157,440, a reduction of \$150,891,580. By refunding, the annual interest has been still more rapidly reduced from \$40,347,884 on the 1st of November, 1899, to \$24,176,745 on the 1st of June, 1904, an annual saving of over \$16,000,000. When the Financial Act was passed, the thinly settled portions of our country were

suffering for lack of banking facilities because the banks were in large towns, and none could be organized with a capital of less than \$50,000. Under the provisions of that Act, there were organized down to the 1st of May last 1,296 small banks of \$25,000 capital, furnishing under all the safeguards of the national banking system, facilities to the small communities of the West and South. The facilities made possible by that Act have increased the circulation of national banks from \$254,402,730 on the 14th of March, 1900, to \$445,988,565 on the 1st of June, 1904. The money of the country in circulation has not only increased in amount with our growth in business, but it has steadily gained in the stability of the basis on which it rests. On the 1st of March, 1897, when the first administration of McKinley began, we had in the country, including bullion in the Treasury, \$1,806,272,076. This was \$23.14 per capita for our population, and of this 38.893 per cent was gold. On the 1st of March, 1901, when the second administration of McKinley began, the money in the country was \$2,467,295,228. This was \$28.34 per capita, and of this 45.273 per cent was gold. On the 1st of May last the money in the country was \$2,814,985,446, which was \$31.02 per capita, and of it 48.028 per cent was gold. This great increase of currency has been arranged in such a way that the large government notes in circulation are gold certificates, while the silver certificates and greenbacks are of small denominations. As the large gold certificates represent gold actually on deposit, their presentation at the Treasury in exchange for gold can never infringe upon the gold reserve. As the small silver certificates and greenbacks are always in active circulation, no large amount of them can be accumulated for the purpose of drawing on the gold reserve; and thus, while every man can get a gold dollar for every dollar of the government's currency, the endless chain which we were once taught to fear so much has been effectively put out of business. The Secretary of the Treasury has shown himself mindful of the needs of business and has so managed our finances as himself to expand and contract our currency as occasion has required. When in the fall of 1902 the demand for funds to move the crops caused extraordinary money stringency, the Secretary exercised his lawful right to accept state and municipal bonds as security for public deposits, thus liberating United States bonds which were used for additional circulation. When the crops were moved and the stringency was over, he called for a withdrawal of the state and municipal securities, and thus contracted the currency. Again, in 1903,

under similar conditions, he produced similar results. The payment of the \$50,000,000 for the Panama Canal, made last month without causing the slightest disturbance in finance, showed good judgment and a careful consideration of the interests of business upon which our people may confidently rely.

The Regulation of Trusts.

Four years ago the regulation by law of the great corporate combinations called "trusts" stood substantially where it was when the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was passed. President Cleveland, in his last message of December, 1896, had said:

"Though Congress has attempted to deal with this matter by legislation, the laws passed for that purpose thus far have proved ineffective, not because of any lack of disposition or attempt to enforce them, but simply because the laws themselves as interpreted by the courts do not reach the difficulty. If the insufficiencies of existing laws can be remedied by further legislation, it should be done. The fact must be recognized, however, that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of inherent obstacles and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making Federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that cannot be transgressed."

At every election, the regulation of trusts had been the football of campaign oratory and the subject of many insincere declarations.

Our Republican administration has taken up the subject in a practical, sensible way as a business rather than a political question, saying what it really meant, and doing what lay at its hand to be done to accomplish effective regulation. The principles upon which the government proceeded were stated by the President in his message of December, 1902. He said:

"A fundamental base of civilization is the inviolability of property; but this is in no wise inconsistent with the right of society to regulate the exercise of the artificial powers which it confers upon the owners of property, under the name of corporate franchises, in such a way as to prevent the misuse of these powers. * * *

"We can do nothing of good in the way of regulating and supervising these corporations until we fix clearly in our minds that we are not attacking the corporations, but endeavoring to do away with any evil in

them. We are not hostile to them; we are merely determined that they shall be so handled as to subserve the public good. We draw the line against misconduct, not against wealth. * * *

"In curbing and regulating the combinations of capital which are or may become injurious to the public we must be careful not to stop the great enterprises which have legitimately reduced the cost of production, not to abandon the place which our country has won in the leadership of the international industrial world, not to strike down wealth with the result of closing factories and mines, of turning the wage-worker idle in the streets and leaving the farmer without a market for what he grows. * * *

"I believe that monopolies, unjust discriminations, which prevent or cripple competition, fraudulent over-capitalization, and other evils in trust organizations and practices which injuriously affect interstate trade, can be prevented under the power of Congress to 'regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States' through regulations and requirements operating directly upon such commerce, the instrumentalities thereof, and those engaged therein."

After long consideration, Congress passed three practical statutes: on the 11th of February, 1903, an act to expedite hearings in suits in enforcement of the Anti-Trust Act; on the 14th of February, 1903, the act creating a new Department of Commerce and Labor with a Bureau of Corporations, having authority to secure systematic information regarding the organization and operation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce; and on the 19th of February, 1903, an act enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the courts, to deal with secret rebates in transportation charges, which are the chief means by which the trusts crush out their smaller competitors.

The Attorney General has gone on in the same practical way, not to talk about the trusts, to proceed against the trusts by law for their regulation. In separate suits fourteen of the great railroads of the country have been restrained by injunction from giving illegal rebates to the favored shippers, who, by means of them, were driving out the smaller shippers and monopolizing the grain and wheat business of the country. The beef trust was put under injunction. The officers of the railroads engaged in the cotton-carrying pool, affecting all that great industry of the South, were indicted and have abandoned their combination. The Northern Securities Company, which undertook by combining in one ownership the capital stocks of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads to end traffic competition in the Northwest, has been destroyed by a

vigorous prosecution expedited and brought to a speedy and effective conclusion in the Supreme Court under the Act of February 11th, 1903. The Attorney-General says:

"Here, then, are four phases of the attack on the combinations in restraint of trade and commerce—the railroad injunction suits, the cotton pool cases, the beef trust cases, and the Northern Securities case. The first relates to the monopoly produced by secret and preferential rates for railroad transportation; the second to railroad traffic pooling; the third to a combination of independent corporations to fix and maintain extortionate prices for meats; and the fourth to a corporation organized to merge into itself the control of parallel and competing lines of railroad and to eliminate competition in their rates of transportation."

The right of the Interstate Commerce Commission to compel the production of books and papers has been established by the judgment of the Supreme Court in a suit against the coal-carrying roads. Other suits have been brought and other indictments have been found and other trusts have been driven back within legal bounds. No investment in lawful business has been jeopardized, no fair and honest enterprise has been injured, but it is certain that wherever the constitutional power of the National Government reaches, trusts are being practically regulated and curbed within lawful bounds as they never have been before, and the men of small capital are finding in the efficiency and skill of the National Department of Justice a protection they never had before against the crushing effect of unlawful combinations.

The Public Lands and Forests.

We have at last reached a point where the public wealth of farm land, which has seemed so inexhaustible, is nearly gone, and the problem of utilizing the remainder for the building of new homes has become of vital importance.

The present administration has dealt with this problem vigorously and effectively. Great areas had been unlawfully fenced in by men of large means, and the home-builder has been excluded. Many of these unlawful aggressors have been compelled to relinquish their booty, and more than 2,000,000 acres of land have been restored to the public. Extensive frauds in procuring grants of lands, not for homesteads but for speculation, have been investigated

and stopped, and the perpetrators have been indicted and are being actively prosecuted. A competent commission has been constituted to examine into the defective working of the existing laws and to suggest practical legislation to prevent further abuse. That commission has reported, and bills adequate to accomplish the purpose have been framed and are before Congress. The further denudation of forest areas, producing alternate floods and dryness in our river valleys, has been checked by the extension of forest reserves, which have been brought to aggregate more than 63,000,000 acres of land. The reclamation by irrigation of the vast arid regions forming the chief part of our remaining public domain has been provided for by the National Reclamation Law of June 17, 1903. The execution of this law, without taxation and by the application of the proceeds of public land sales alone, through the construction of storage reservoirs for water, will make many millions of acres of fertile lands available for settlement. Over \$20,000,000 from these sources have been already received to the credit of the reclamation fund. Over 33,000,000 acres of public lands in fourteen States and Territories have been embraced in the sixty-seven projects which have been devised and are under examination, and on eight of these the work of actual construction has begun.

The Postal Service.

The Postal service has been extended and improved. Its revenues have increased from \$76,000,000 in 1895 to \$95,000,000 in 1899, and \$144,000,000 in 1904. In dealing with these vast sums, a few cases of peculation, trifling in amount and by subordinate officers, have occurred there as they occur in every business. Neither fear nor favor, nor political or personal influence has availed to protect the wrongdoers. Their acts have been detected, investigated, laid bare; they have been dismissed from their places, prosecuted criminally, indicted, many of them tried, and many of them convicted. The abuses in the carriage of second-class mail matter have been remedied. The Rural Free Delivery has been widely extended. It is wholly the creation of Republican administration. The last Democratic Postmaster-General declared it impracticable. The first administration of McKinley proved the contrary. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1899 there were about 200 routes in operation. There are now more than 25,000 routes, bringing a daily mail serv-

ice to more than 12,000,000 of our people in rural communities, enlarging the circulation of the newspaper and the magazine, increasing communication and relieving the isolation of life on the farm.

The Department of Agriculture.

The Department of Agriculture has been brought to a point of efficiency and practical benefit never before known. The Oleomargarine Act of May 9th, 1902, now sustained in the Supreme Court, and the Act of July 1st, 1902, to prevent the false branding of food and dairy products, protect farmers against fraudulent imitations. The Act of February 2d, 1903, enables the Secretary of Agriculture to prevent the spread of contagious and infectious diseases of live stock. Rigid inspection has protected our cattle against infection from abroad, and has established the highest credit for our meat products in the markets of the world. The earth has been searched for weapons with which to fight the enemies that destroy the growing crops. An insect brought from near the Great Wall of China has checked the San Jose scale which was destroying our orchards; a parasitic fly brought from South Africa is exterminating the black scale in the lemon and orange groves of California; and an ant from Guatemala is about offering battle to the boll weevil. Broad science has been brought to the aid of limited experience. Study of the relations between plant life and climate and soil has been followed by the introduction of special crops suited to our varied conditions. The introduction of just the right kind of seed has enabled the Gulf States to increase our rice crop from 115,000,000 pounds in 1898 to 400,000,000 pounds in 1903, and to supply the entire American demand, with a surplus for export. The right kind of sugar beet has increased our annual production of beet sugar by over 200,000 tons. Seed brought from countries of little rainfall is producing millions of bushels of grain on lands which a few years ago were deemed a hopeless part of the arid belt.

The systematic collection and publication of information regarding the magnitude and conditions of our crops is mitigating the injury done by speculation to the farmer's market.

To increase the profit of the farmer's toil, to protect the farmer's product and extend his market, and to improve the conditions of the farmer's life; to advance the time when

America shall raise within her own limits every product of the soil consumed by her people, as she makes within her own limits every necessary product of manufacture—these have been the cardinal objects of Republican administration; and we show a record of practical things done toward the accomplishment of these objects never before approached.

Cuba.

Four years ago we held the Island of Cuba by military occupation. The opposition charged, and the people of Cuba believed, that we did not intend to keep the pledge of April 20th, 1898, that when the pacification of Cuba was accomplished we should leave the government and control of the Island to its people. The new policy towards Cuba which should follow the fulfillment of that pledge was unformed. During the four years it has been worked out in detail and has received effect. It was communicated by executive order to the Military Governor. It was embodied in the Act of Congress known as the Platt Amendment. It was accepted by the Cuban Constitutional Convention on the 12th of October, 1901. It secured to Cuba her liberty and her independence, but it required her to maintain them. It forbade her ever to use the freedom we had earned for her by so great a sacrifice of blood and treasure, to give the Island to any other Power; it required her to maintain a government adequate for the protection of life and property and liberty, and should she fail, it gave us the right to intervene for the maintenance of such a government. And it gave us the right to naval stations upon her coast for the protection and defense alike of Cuba and the United States.

On the 20th of May, 1902, under a Constitution which embodied these stipulations, the government and control of Cuba were surrendered to the President and Congress elected by her people, and the American Army sailed away. The new Republic began its existence with an administration of Cubans completely organized in all its branches and trained to effective service by American officers. The administration of President Palma has been wise and efficient. Peace and order have prevailed. The people of Cuba are prosperous and happy. Her finances have been honestly administered and her credit is high. The naval stations have been located and bounded at Guantánamo and Bahía Honda, and are in the

possession of our navy. The Platt Amendment is the sheet anchor of Cuban independence and of Cuban credit. No such revolutions as have afflicted Central and South America are possible there, because it is known to all men that an attempt to overturn the foundations of that government will be confronted by the overwhelming power of the United States. The Treaty of Reciprocity and the Act of Congress of December 6th, 1903, which confirmed it, completed the expression of our policy towards Cuba; which with a far view to the future aims to bind to us by ties of benefit and protection, of mutual interest and genuine friendship, that Island which guards the Carribbean and the highway to the Isthmus, and must always be, if hostile, an outpost of attack, and, if friendly, an outpost of defense for the United States. Rich as we are, the American people have no more valuable possession than the sentiment expressed in the dispatch which I will now read:

"HAVANA, May 20, 1902.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

"President, Washington.

"The government of the Island having been just transferred, I, as Chief Magistrate of the Republic, faithfully interpreting the sentiment of the whole people of Cuba, have the honor to send you and the American people testimony of our profound gratitude and the assurance of an enduring friendship, with wishes and prayers to the Almighty for the welfare and prosperity of the United States.

"T. ESTRADA PALMA."

The Philippine Islands.

When the last National Convention met, the Philippines also were under military rule. The insurrectos from the mountains spread terror among the peaceful people by midnight foray and secret assassination. Aguinaldo bided his time in a secret retreat. Over seventy thousand American soldiers from more than five hundred stations held a still vigorous enemy in check. The Philippine Commission had not yet begun its work.

The last vestige of insurrection has been swept away. With their work accomplished, over 55,000 American troops have been brought back across the Pacific. Civil government has been established throughout the Archipelago. Peace and order and justice prevail. The Philippine Commission, guided at first by executive order and then by the wise legislation of Congress in the Philip-

pine Government Act of July 1, 1902, have established and conducted a government which has been a credit to their country and a blessing to the people of the Islands. The body of laws which they have enacted upon careful and intelligent study of the needs of the country challenges comparison with the statutes of any country. The personnel of civil government has been brought together under an advanced and comprehensive civil-service law, which has been rigidly enforced. A complete census has been taken, designed to be there, as it was in Cuba, the basis for representative government; and the people of the Islands will soon proceed, under provisions already made by Congress, to the election of a representative assembly, in which for the first time in their history they may have a voice in the making of their own laws. In the meantime the local and provincial governments are in the hands of officers elected by the Filipinos; and in the great central offices, in the Commission, on the Bench, in the executive departments, the most distinguished men of the Filipino race are taking their part in the government of their people. A free-school system has been established and hundreds of thousands of children are learning lessons which will help fit them for self-government. The seeds of religious strife existing in the bitter controversy between the people and the religious orders have been deprived of potency for harm by the purchase of the Friars' lands, and their practical withdrawal. By the Act of Congress of March 2d, 1903, a gold standard has been established to take the place of the fluctuating silver currency. The unit of value is made exactly one-half the value of the American gold dollar, so that American money is practically part of their currency system. To enable the Philippine Government to issue this new currency, \$6,000,000 was borrowed by them in 1903 in the City of New York; and it was borrowed at a net interest charge of 15-8 per cent per annum. The trade of the Islands has increased notwithstanding adverse conditions. During the last five years of peace under Spanish rule, the average total trade of the Islands was less than \$36,000,000. During the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1903, the trade of the Islands was over \$66,000,000. There is but one point of disturbance, and that is in the country of the Mohammedan Moros, where there is an occasional fitful savage outbreak against the enforcement of the law recently made to provide for adequate supervision and control to put an end to the practice of human slavery.

When Governor Taft sailed from Manila in December last to fill the higher office where he will still guard the destinies of the people for whom he has done such great and noble service, he was followed to the shore by a mighty throng, not of repressed and sullen subjects, but of free and peaceful people, whose tears and prayers of affectionate farewell showed that they had already begun to learn that "our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

None can foretell the future, but there seems no reasonable cause to doubt that, under the policy already effectively inaugurated, the institutions already implanted, and the processes already begun in the Philippine Islands, if these be not repressed and interrupted, the Philippine people will follow in the footsteps of the people of Cuba; that more slowly indeed, because they are not as advanced, yet as surely, they will grow in capacity for self-government, and, receiving power as they grow in capacity, will come to bear substantially such relations to the people of the United States as do now the people of Cuba, differing in details as conditions and needs differ, but the same in principle and the same in beneficent results.

The Isthmian Canal.

In 1900 the project of an Isthmian Canal stood where it was left by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. For half a century it had halted, with Great Britain resting upon a joint right of control, and the great undertaking of De Lesseps struggling against the doom of failure imposed by extravagance and corruption. On the 18th of November, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain relieved the enterprise of the right of British control and left that right exclusively in the United States. Then followed swiftly the negotiations and protocols with Nicaragua; the Isthmian Canal Act of June 28th, 1902; the just agreement with the French Canal Company to pay them the value of the work they had done; the negotiation and ratification of the treaty with Colombia; the rejection of that treaty by Colombia in violation of our rights and the world's right to the passage of the Isthmus; the seizure by Panama of the opportunity to renew her oft-repeated effort to throw off the hateful and oppressive yoke of Colombia and resume the independence which once had been hers and of which she had been deprived by fraud and force; the success of the revolution; our

recognition of the new Republic, followed by recognition from substantially all the civilized powers of the world; the treaty with Panama recognizing and confirming our right to construct the canal; the ratification of the treaty by the Senate; confirmatory legislation by Congress; the payment of the \$50,000,000 to the French Company and to Panama; the appointment of the Canal Commission in accordance with law; and its organization to begin the work.

The action of the United States at every step has been in accordance with the law of nations, consistent with the principles of justice and honor, in discharge of the trust to build the canal we long since assumed, by denying the right of every other power to build it, dictated by a high and unselfish purpose, for the common benefit of all mankind. That action was wise, considerate, prompt, vigorous and effective; and now the greatest of constructive nations stands ready and competent to begin and to accomplish the great enterprise which shall realize the dreams of past ages—bind together our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and open a new highway for that commerce of the Orient whose course has controlled the rise and fall of civilizations. Success in that enterprise greatly concerns the credit and honor of the American people, and it is for them to say whether the building of the canal shall be in charge of the men who made its building possible, or of the weaklings whose incredulous objections would have postponed it for another generation.

Foreign Policy.

Throughout the world the diplomacy of the present administration has made for peace and justice among nations. Clear-sighted to perceive and prompt to maintain American interests, it has been sagacious and simple and direct in its methods, and considerate of the rights and of the feelings of others.

Within the month after the last National Convention met, Secretary Hay's Circular Note of July 3d, 1900, to the Great Powers of Europe had declared the policy of the United States

"to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve China's territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

The express adherence of the Powers of Europe to this declaration was secured. The open recognition of the rule of right conduct imposed its limitations upon the conduct of the Powers in the Orient. It was made the test of defensible action. Carefully guarded by the wise statesman who had secured its acceptance, it brought a moral force of recognized value to protect peaceful and helpless China from dismemberment and spoliation, and to preserve the Open Door in the Orient for the commerce of the world. Under the influence of this effective friendship, a new commercial treaty with China, proclaimed on the 8th of October last, has enlarged our opportunities for trade, opened new ports to our commerce, and abolished internal duties on goods in transit within the Empire. There were indeed other nations which agreed with this policy of American diplomacy, but no other nation was free from suspicion of selfish aims. None other had won confidence in the sincerity of its purpose, and none other but America could render the service which we have rendered to humanity in China during the past four years. High evidence of that enviable position of our country is furnished by the fact that when all Europe was in apprehension lest the field of war between Russia and Japan should so spread as to involve China's ruin and a universal conflict it was to the American Government that the able and far-sighted German Emperor appealed, to take the lead again in bringing about an agreement for the limitation of the field of action, and the preservation of the administrative entity of China outside of Manchuria; and that was accomplished.

Upon our own continent a dispute with Canada over the boundary of Alaska had been growing more acute for thirty years. A multitude of miners swift to defend their own rights by force were locating mining claims under the laws of both countries in the disputed territory. At any moment a fatal affray between Canadian and American miners was liable to begin a conflict in which all British Columbia would be arrayed on one side and all our Northwest upon the other. Agreement was impossible. But the Alaskan Boundary Treaty of January 24th, 1903, provided a tribunal for the decision of the controversy; and upon legal proofs and reasoned argument, an appeal has been had from prejudice and passion to judicial judgment; and under the lead of a great Chief Justice of England, who held the sacred obligations of his judicial office above all other considerations, the dispute has been settled forever and substantially in accordance with the American contention.

Peace and Arbitration.

In 1900 the first Administration of McKinley had played a great part in establishing The Hague Tribunal for International Arbitration. The prevailing opinion of Europe was incredulous as to the practical utility of the provision, and anticipated a paper tribunal unsought by litigants. It was the example of the United States which set at naught this opinion. The first international case taken to The Hague Tribunal was under our protocol with Mexico of May 22, 1902, submitting our contention for the rights of the Roman Catholic Church in California to a share of the Church moneys held by the Mexican Government before the cession, and known as the Pious Fund; and the first decision of the Tribunal was an award in our favor upon that question.

When in 1903 the failure of Venezuela to pay her just debts led England, Germany and Italy to warlike measures for the collection of their claims, an appeal by Venezuela to our government resulted in agreements upon arbitration in place of the war, and in a request that our President should act as arbitrator. Again he promoted the authority and prestige of The Hague Tribunal, and was able to lead all the Powers to submit the crucial questions in controversy to the determination of that court. It is due greatly to support by the American Government that this agency for peace has disappointed the expectations of its detractors, and by demonstrations of practical usefulness has begun a career fraught with possibilities of incalculable benefit to mankind.

On the 11th of April, 1903, was proclaimed another convention between all the Great Powers agreeing upon more humane rules for the conduct of war; and these in substance incorporated and gave the sanction of the civilized world to the rules drafted by Francis Lieber and approved by Abraham Lincoln for the conduct of the armies of the United States in the field.

All Americans who desire safe and conservative administration which shall avoid cause of quarrel, all who abhor war, all who long for the perfect sway of the principles of that religion which we all profess, should rejoice that under this Republican administration their country has attained a potent leadership among the nations in the cause of peace and international justice.

The respect and moral power thus gained have been exercised in the interests of humanity, where the rules of diplomatic intercourse

have made formal intervention impossible. When the Roumanian outrages and when the appalling massacre at Kishineff shocked civilization and filled thousands of our own people with mourning, the protest of America was heard through the voice of its government, with full observance of diplomatic rules, but with moral power and effect.

We have advanced the authority of the Monroe Doctrine. Our adherence to the convention which established The Hague Tribunal was accepted by the other Powers, with a formal declaration that nothing therein contained should be construed to imply the relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions. The armed demonstration by the European Powers against Venezuela was made the occasion for disclaimers to the United States of any intention to seize the territory of Venezuela, recognizing in the most unmistakable way the rights of the United States expressed in the declaration of that traditional policy.

The Navy.

In the meantime, mindful that moral powers unsupported by physical strength do not always avail against selfishness and aggression, we have been augmenting the forces which command respect.

We have brought our Navy to a high state of efficiency and have exercised both Army and Navy in the methods of seacoast defense. The joint Army and Navy Board has been bringing the two services together in good understanding and the common study of the strategy, the preparation, and the co-operation which will make them effective in time of need. Our ships have been exercised in fleet and squadron movements, have been improved in marksmanship and mobility, and have been constantly tested by use. Since the last National Convention met, we have completed and added to our Navy five battleships, four cruisers, four monitors, thirty-four torpedo boat destroyers and torpedo boats; while we have put under construction thirteen battleships and thirteen cruisers.

The Army.

Four years ago our Army numbered over 100,000 men—regulars and volunteers—75 per cent of them in the Philippines and China.

Under the operation of statutes limiting the period of service, it was about to lapse back into its old and insufficient number of 27,000, and its old and insufficient organization under the practical control of permanent staff departments at Washington, with the same divisions of counsel and lack of co-ordinating and directing power at the head that led to confusion and scandal in the war with Spain. During the past four years the lessons taught by that war have received practical effect. The teachings of Sherman and Upton have been recalled and respected. Congress has fixed a maximum of the Army at 100,000 and a minimum at 60,000, so that maintaining only the minimum in peace, as we now do, when war threatens the President may begin preparation by filling the ranks to the maximum, without waiting until after war has begun, as he had to wait in 1898. Permanent staff appointments have been changed to details from the line, with compulsory returns at fixed intervals to service with troops, so that the requirements of the field and the camp rather than the requirements of the office desk shall control the departments of administration and supply. A corps organization has been provided for our artillery, with a chief of artillery at the head, so that there may be intelligent use of our costly seacoast defenses. Under the Act of February 14th, 1903, a General Staff has been established, organized to suit American conditions and requirements and adequate for the performance of the long-neglected but all-important duties of directing military education and training, and applying the most advanced principles of military science to that necessary preparation for war which is the surest safeguard of peace. The command of the Army now rests where it is placed by the Constitution—in the President. His power is exercised through a military Chief of Staff pledged by the conditions and tenure of his office to confidence and loyalty to his commander. Thus civilian control of the military arm, upon which we must always insist, is reconciled with that military efficiency which can be obtained only under the direction of the trained military expert.

The Militia.

Four years ago we were living under an obsolete militia law more than a century old, which Washington and Jefferson and Madison, and almost every President since their time, had declared to be worthless. We presented the curious spectacle of a people

depending upon citizen soldiery for protection against aggression, and making practically no provision whatever for training its citizens in the use of warlike weapons or in the elementary duties of the soldier. The mandate of the Constitution which requires Congress to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia had been left unexecuted. In default of national provisions, bodies of State troops, created for local purposes and supported at local expense, had grown up throughout the Union. Their feelings towards the Regular Army were rather of distrust and dislike than of comradeship. Their arms, equipment, discipline, organization and methods of obtaining and accounting for supplies were varied and inconsistent. They were unsuited to become a part of any homogeneous force, and their relations to the Army of the United States were undefined and conjectural. By the Militia Act of January 20th, 1903, Congress performed its duty under the Constitution. Leaving these bodies still to perform their duties to the States, it made them the organized militia of the United States. It provided for their conformity in armament, organization and discipline to the Army of the United States; it provided the ways in which, either strictly as militia or as volunteers, they should become an active part of the Army when called upon; it provided for their training, instruction and exercise conjointly with the Regular Army; it imposed upon the Regular Army the duty of promoting their efficiency in many ways. In recognition of the service to the nation which these citizen soldiers would be competent to render, the nation assumed its share of the burden of their armament, their supply and their training. The workings of this system have already demonstrated, not only that we can have citizens outside the Regular Army trained for duty in war, but that we can have a body of volunteer officers ready for service, between whom and the officers of the Regular Army have been created, by intimate association and mutual helpfulness, those relations of confidence and esteem without which no army can be effective.

The Administrative Efficiency of the Republican Party.

The first administration of McKinley fought and won the war with Spain, put down the insurrection in the Philippines, annexed Hawaii, rescued the legations in Pekin, brought Porto Rico into our commercial system, enacted a protective tariff and established our

national currency on the firm foundations of the gold standard by the financial legislation of the 56th Congress.

The present administration has reduced taxation, reduced the public debt, reduced the annual interest charge, made effective progress in the regulation of trusts, fostered business, promoted agriculture, built up the navy, reorganized the army, resurrected the militia system, inaugurated a new policy for the preservation and reclamation of public lands, given civil government to the Philippines, established the Republic of Cuba, bound it to us by ties of gratitude, of commercial interest, and of common defense, swung open the closed gateway of the Isthmus, strengthened the Monroe Doctrine, ended the Alaskan Boundary dispute, protected the integrity of China, opened wider its doors of trade, advanced the principle of arbitration, and promoted peace among the nations.

We challenge judgment upon this record of effective performance in legislation, in execution, and in administration.

The work is not fully done; policies are not completely wrought out; domestic questions still press continually for solution; other trusts must be regulated; the tariff may presently receive revision, and if so, should receive it at the hands of the friends and not the enemies of the protective system; the new Philippine government has only begun to develop its plans for the benefit of that long-neglected country; our flag floats on the Isthmus, but the canal is yet to be built; peace does not yet reign on earth, and considerate firmness, backed by strength, is still needful in diplomacy.

The American people have now to say, whether policies shall be reversed, or committed to unfriendly guardians; whether performance, which now proves itself for the benefit and honor of our country, shall be transferred to unknown and perchance to feeble hands.

President McKinley.

No dividing line can be drawn athwart the course of this successful administration. The fatal 14th of September, 1901, marked no change of policy, no lower level of achievement. The bullet of the assassin robbed us of the friend we loved; it took away from the people the President of their choice; it deprived civilization of a potent force making always for righteousness and for humanity. But the fabric of free institutions remained unshaken. The government of the people went on. The great party that William

McKinley led, wrought still in the spirit of his example. His true and loyal successor has been equal to the burden cast upon him. Widely different in temperament and methods, he has approved himself of the same elemental virtues—the same fundamental beliefs. With faithful and revering memory, he has executed the purposes and continued unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country. And he has met all new occasions with strength and resolution and far-sighted wisdom.

As we gather in this convention, our hearts go back to the friend—the never to be forgotten friend—whom when last we met acclaimed with one accord as our universal choice to bear a second time the highest honor in the nation's gift; and back still, memory goes through many a year of leadership and loyalty.

How wise and how skillful he was! How modest and self-effacing! How deep his insight into the human heart! How swift the intuitions of his sympathy! How compelling the charm of his gracious presence! He was so unselfish, so thoughtful of the happiness of others, so genuine a lover of his country and his kind. And he was the kindest and tenderest friend who ever grasped another's hand. Alas, that his virtues did plead in vain against cruel fate!

Yet we may rejoice, that while he lived he was crowned with honor; that the rancor of party strife had ceased; that success in his great tasks—the restoration of peace, the approval of his countrymen, the affection of his friends—gave the last quiet months in his home at Canton repose and contentment.

And with McKinley we remember Hanna with affection and sorrow—his great lieutenant. They are together again.

President Roosevelt.

But we turn as they would have us turn, to the duties of the hour, the hopes of the future; we turn as they would have us turn, to prepare ourselves for struggle under the same standard borne in other hands by right of true inheritance. Honor, truth, courage, purity of life, domestic virtue, love of country, loyalty to high ideals—all these combined with active intelligence, with learning, with experience in affairs, with the conclusive proof of competency afforded by wise and conservative administration, by great things

already done and great results already achieved—all these we bring to the people with another candidate. Shall not these have honor in our land? Truth, sincerity, courage!—these underlie the fabric of our institutions. Upon hypocrisy and sham, upon cunning and false pretense, upon weakness and cowardice, upon the arts of the demagogue and the devices of the mere politician—no government can stand. No system of popular government can endure in which the people do not believe and trust. Our President has taken the whole people into his confidence. Incapable of deception, he has put aside concealment. Frankly and without reserve, he has told them what their government was doing, and the reasons. It is no campaign of appearances upon which we enter, for the people know the good and the bad, the success and failure, to be credited and charged to our account. It is no campaign of sounding words and specious pretenses, for our President has told the people with frankness what he believed and what he intended. He has meant every word he said, and the people have believed every word he said, and with him this convention agrees because every word has been sound Republican doctrine. No people can maintain free government who do not in their hearts value the qualities which have made the present President of the United States conspicuous among the men of his time as a type of noble manhood. Come what may here—come what may in November, God grant that those qualities of brave, true manhood shall have honor throughout America, shall be held for an example in every home, and that the youth of generations to come may grow up to feel that it is better than wealth, or office, or power, to have the honesty, the purity and the courage of Theodore Roosevelt.



Speech of
Theodore Roosevelt

*Accepting the
Republican Nomination
for*

President of the United States.

Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 26, 1904



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MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE: I am deeply sensible of the high honor conferred upon me by the representatives of the Republican party assembled in convention, and I accept the nomination for the Presidency with solemn realization of the obligations I assume. I heartily approve the declaration of principles which the Republican National Convention has adopted, and at some future day I shall communicate to you, Mr. Chairman, more at length and in detail a formal written acceptance of the nomination.

M'KINLEY'S POLICIES SUSTAINED.

Three years ago I became President because of the death of my lamented predecessor. I then stated that it was my purpose to carry out his principles and policies for the honor and the interest of the country. To the best of my ability I have kept the promise thus made. If next November my countrymen confirm at the polls the action of the convention you represent, I shall, under Providence, continue to work with an eye single to the welfare of all our people.

PLEDGES HAVE BEEN FULFILLED.

A party is of worth only in so far as it promotes the national interest, and every official, high or low, can serve his party best by rendering to the people the best service of which he is capable. Effective government comes only as the result of the loyal co-operation of many different persons. The members of a legislative majority, the officers in the various departments of the administration, and the legislative and executive branches as towards each other, must work together with subordination of self to the common end of successful government. We who have been entrusted with power as public servants during the past seven years of administration and legislation now come before the people content to be judged by our record of achievement. In the years that have gone by we have made the deed square with the word; and if we are continued in power we shall unswervingly follow out the great lines of public policy which the Republican party has already laid down; a public policy to which we are giving, and shall give, a united, and therefore an efficient, support.

REPUBLICANS EVADE NO ISSUES.

In all of this we are more fortunate than our opponents, who now appeal for confidence on the ground, which some express and some seek to have confidentially understood, that if triumphant they may be trusted to prove false to every principle which in the last eight years they have laid down as vital, and to leave undisturbed those very acts of the administration because of which they ask that the administration itself be driven from power. Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere. We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on no vital question; our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections

and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performances in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guarantee as to our promises for the future. Our opponents, either openly or secretly, according to their several temperaments, now ask the people to trust their present promises in consideration of the fact that they intend to treat their past promises as null and void. We know our own minds and we have kept of the same mind for a sufficient length of time to give to our policy coherence and sanity. In such a fundamental matter as the enforcement of the law we do not have to depend upon promises, but merely to ask that our record be taken as an earnest of what we shall continue to do. In dealing with the great organization known as trusts we do not have to explain why the laws are not enforced, but to point out that they actually have been enforced and that legislation has been enacted to increase the effectiveness of their enforcement. We do not have to propose to "turn the rascals out," for we have shown in very deed that whenever by diligent investigation a public official can be found who has betrayed his trust he will be punished to the full extent of the law without regard to whether he was appointed under a Republican or a Democratic administration. This is the efficient way to turn the rascals out and to keep them out, and it has the merit of sincerity. Moreover, the betrayals of trust in the last seven years have been insignificant in number when compared with the extent of the public service. Never has the administration of the government been on a cleaner and higher level; never has the public work of the nation been done more honestly and efficiently.

THE GOLD STANDARD TO BE PRESERVED.

Assuredly it is unwise to change the policies which have worked so well and which are now working so well. Prosperity has come at home. The national honor and interest have

been upheld abroad. We have placed the finances of the nation upon a sound gold basis. We have done this with the aid of many who were formerly our opponents, but who would neither openly support nor silently acquiesce in the heresy of unsound finance; and we have done it against the convinced, the violent opposition of the mass of our present opponents, who still refuse to recant the unsound opinions which for the moment they think it inexpedient to assert. We know what we mean when we speak of an honest and stable currency. We mean the same thing from year to year. We do not have to avoid a definite and conclusive committal on the most important issue which has recently been before the people, and which may at any time in the near future be before them again. Upon the principles which underlie this issue the conviction of half of our number do not clash with those of the other half. So long as the Republican party is in power the gold standard is settled, not as a matter of temporary political expediency, not because of shifting conditions in the production of gold in certain mining centers, but in accordance with what we regard as the fundamental principles of national morality and wisdom.

GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN A SATISFACTORY CONDITION.

Under the financial legislation which we have enacted there is now ample circulation for every business need, and every dollar of this circulation is worth a dollar in gold. We have reduced the interest-bearing debt and in still larger measure the interest on that debt. All of the war taxes imposed during the Spanish war have been removed with a view to relieve the people and to prevent the accumulation of an unnecessary surplus. The result is that hardly ever before have the expenditures and income of the Government so closely corresponded. In the fiscal year that has just closed the excess of income over the ordinary expenditures was nine millions of dollars. This does not take account of the fifty millions expended out of the accumulated surplus for the purchase of the isthmian canal.

It is an extraordinary proof of the sound financial condition of the nation that instead of following the usual course in such matters and throwing the burden upon posterity by an issue of bonds, we were able to make the payment outright, and yet after it to have in the treasury a surplus of one hundred and sixty-one millions. Moreover, we were able to pay this fifty millions of dollars out of hand without causing the slightest disturbance to business conditions.

THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF MUST BE MAINTAINED.

We have enacted a Tariff law under which during the past few years the country has attained a height of material well being never before reached. Wages are higher than ever before. That whenever the need arises there should be a readjustment of the Tariff schedules is undoubted; but such changes can with safety be made only by those whose devotion to the principle of a Protective Tariff is beyond question; for otherwise the changes would amount not to readjustment, but to repeal. The readjustment when made must maintain and not destroy the Protective principle. To the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer this is vital; but perhaps no other man is so much interested as the wage-worker in the maintenance of our present economic system, both as regards the finances and the Tariff. The standard of living of our wage-workers is higher than that of any other country, and it cannot so remain unless we have a Protective Tariff which shall always keep as a minimum rate of duty sufficient to cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. Those who, like our opponents, "denounce Protection as a robbery," thereby explicitly commit themselves to the proposition that if they were to revise the Tariff no heed would be paid to the necessity of meeting this difference between the standards of living for wage-workers here and in other countries; and, therefore, on this point their antagonism to our position is fundamental. Here again we ask that their promises and ours be judged by what has been done in the immediate past. We ask that sober and sensible men

compare the workings of the present Tariff law and the conditions which obtain under it with the workings of the preceding Tariff law of 1893 and the conditions which that Tariff of 1893 helped to bring about.

MCKINLEY RECIPROCITY APPROVED.

We believe in reciprocity with foreign nations on the terms outlined in President McKinley's last speech, which urged the extension of our foreign markets by reciprocal agreements whenever they could be made without injury to American industry and labor. It is a singular fact that the only great reciprocity treaty recently adopted—that with Cuba—was finally opposed almost alone by the representatives of the very party which now states that it favors reciprocity. And here again we ask that the worth of our words be judged by comparing their deeds with ours. On this Cuban reciprocity treaty there were at the outset grave differences of opinion among ourselves, and the notable thing in the negotiation and ratification of the treaty, and in the legislation which carried it into effect, was the highly practical manner in which, without sacrifice of principle, these differences of opinion were reconciled. There was no rupture of a great party, but an excellent practical outcome, the result of the harmonious co-operation of two successive Presidents and two successive Congresses. This is an illustration of the governing capacity which entitles us to the confidence of the people, not only in our purposes, but in our practical ability to achieve those purposes. Judging by the history of the last twelve years, down to this very month, is there justification for believing that under similar circumstances and with similar initial differences of opinion our opponents would have achieved any practical result?

EQUAL JUSTICE TO LABOR AND CAPITAL.

We have already shown in actual fact that our policy is to do fair and equal justice to all men, paying no heed to whether

a man is rich or poor, paying no heed to his race, his creed, or his birthplace.

We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind of organization is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law, and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law; for no man is above it and no man below it. The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold; but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage, and of common sense.

IRRIGATION.

In inaugurating the great work of irrigation in the West the administration has been enabled by Congress to take one of the longest strides ever taken under our Government toward utilizing our vast national domain for the settler, the actual home-maker.

PANAMA CANAL RECORD AN HONORABLE ONE.

Ever since this continent was discovered the need of an isthmian canal to connect the Pacific and the Atlantic has been recognized, and ever since the birth of our nation such a canal has been planned. At last the dream has become a reality. The isthmian canal is now being built by the Government of the United States. We conducted the negotiation for its construction with the nicest and most scrupulous honor, and in a spirit of the largest generosity toward those through whose territory it was to run. Every sinister effort which could be devised by the spirit of faction or the spirit of self-interest

was made in order to defeat the treaty with Panama and thereby prevent the consummation of this work. The construction of the canal is now an assured fact; but most certainly it is unwise to entrust the carrying out of so momentous a policy to those who have endeavored to defeat the whole undertaking.

FOREIGN POLICY COMMANDS RESPECT.

Our foreign policy has been so conducted that while not one of our just claims has been sacrificed our relations with all foreign nations are now of the most peaceful kind; there is not a cloud on the horizon. The last cause of irritation between us and any other nation was removed by the settlement of the Alaskan boundary.

In the Caribbean Sea we have made good our promises of independence to Cuba, and have proved our assertion that our mission in the island was one of justice and not of self-aggrandizement; and thereby no less than by our action in Venezuela and Panama we have shown that the Monroe Doctrine is a living reality, designed for the hurt of no nation, but for the protection of civilization on the Western continent and for the peace of the world. Our steady growth in power has gone hand in hand with a strengthening disposition to use this power with strict regard for the rights of others, and for the cause of international justice and good will.

We earnestly desire friendship with all the nations of the new and old worlds, and we endeavor to place our relations with them upon a basis of reciprocal advantage instead of hostility. We hold that the prosperity of each nation is an aid and not a hindrance to the prosperity of other nations. We seek international amity for the same reasons that make us believe in peace within our own borders, and we seek this peace not because we are afraid or unready, but because we think that peace is right as well as advantageous.

American interests in the Pacific have rapidly grown. American enterprise has laid a cable across this, the greatest

of oceans. We have proved in effective fashion that we wish the Chinese Empire well and desire its integrity and independence.

THE PHILIPPINE POLICY.

Our foothold in the Philippines greatly strengthens our position in the competition for the trade of the East ; but we are governing the Philippines in the interest of the Philippine people themselves. We have already given them a large share in their government, and our purpose is to increase this share as rapidly as they give evidence of increasing fitness for the task. The great majority of the officials of the islands, whether elective or appointive, are already native Filipinos. We are now providing for a legislative assembly. This is the first step to be taken in the future, and it would be eminently unwise to declare what our next step will be until this first step has been taken and the results are manifest. To have gone faster than we have already gone in giving the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government would have been disastrous. At the present moment to give political independence to the islands would result in the immediate loss of civil rights, personal liberty and public order, as regards the mass of the Filipinos, for the majority of the islanders have been given these great boons by us and only keep them because we vigilantly safeguard and guarantee them. To withdraw our government from the islands at this time would mean to the average native the loss of his barely won civil freedom. We have established in the islands a government by Americans, assisted by Filipinos. We are steadily striving to transform this into self-government by the Filipinos, assisted by Americans.

CONTENT TO STAND OR FALL BY RECORD MADE.

The principles which we uphold should appeal to all our countrymen, in all portions of our country. Above all they should give us strength with the men and women who are the

spiritual heirs of those who upheld the hands of Abraham Lincoln; for we are striving to do our work in the spirit with which Lincoln approached his. During the seven years that have just passed there is no duty, domestic or foreign, which we have shirked; no necessary task which we have feared to undertake, or which we have not performed with reasonable efficiency. We have never pleaded impotence. We have never sought refuge in criticism and complaint instead of action. We face the future with our past and our present as guarantors of our promises, and we are content to stand or to fall by the record which we have made and are making.

Elevation of Labor

Record of

Theodore Roosevelt

(From the Congressional Record)

Elevation of Labor

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Elevation of Labor

Record of Theodore Roosevelt

*(From the Speech of Hon. Charles H. Grosvenor, in the House of Representatives,
March 28, 1904)*

The Republican party cannot be otherwise than the friend of labor. It has fought for free labor during its entire existence. It freed the slave; it furnished employment for labor; it lifted up the laboring man, and its last splendid achievement was when it transplanted labor from starvation, as it found it in 1897, and made it possible that it should attain the flourishing position it now occupies. But, catering to the taste of people to examine personal records to ascertain the acts of individuals, I shall furnish here to-day the record of the gentleman who will be the Republican candidate for President. It will furnish good reading for the campaign into which we are so rapidly moving. It will give our Democratic friends food for thought, and it will inspire the toiling man of the country with the pleasant consciousness that the old Republican party, the party of Lincoln, of Grant, of McKinley, of Hanna, is offering for the Presidency a man, a worthy successor to them all and who stands invincible in his record of fealty to the best interests of the laboring man of the United States.

Labor Record of Theodore Roosevelt.

The most vital problem with which this country, and, for that matter, the whole civilized world, has to deal—

Said President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress—
is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities, and for another side the effort to deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of "labor."

Epitome of Theodore Roosevelt's Favorable Action on Labor Legislation

As Member of Assembly in New York he voted for bills—
Abolishing tenement house cigar making in New York City.
Restricting child labor in factories and workshops.

Regulating the labor hours of minors and women in manufacturing establishments.

Safeguarding the lives and limbs of factory operatives.

Regulating wage rates of laborers employed by municipalities.

Making employees preferred creditors.

Providing for building mechanics' liens.

Prescribing the lien rights of working women.

Protecting mechanics and laborers engaged in sinking oil or gas wells.

Abolishing contract child labor in reformatory institutions.

Creating a commission to examine into the operation of the contract system of employing convicts.

Establishing the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

To promote industrial peace.

For a 5-cent fare on the New York City elevated railroad.

Incorporating the New York City Free Circulating Library.

For free public baths in New York City.

As Governor of New York he approved these measures:

Creating a Tenement House Commission.

Regulating sweat shop labor.

Empowering the factory inspector to enforce the scaffolding law.

Directing the factory inspector to enforce the act regulating labor hours on railroads.

Making the eight-hour and prevailing rate of wages laws effective.

Amending the factory act—

1. Protecting employees at work on buildings.

2. Regulating the working time of female employees.

3. Providing that stairways shall be properly lighted.

4. Prohibiting the operation of dangerous machinery by children.

5. Prohibiting women and minors working on polishing or buffing wheels.

6. Providing for seats for waitresses in hotels and restaurants.

Shortening the working hours of drug clerks.

Increasing the salaries of New York City school teachers.

Extending to other engineers the law licensing New York City engineers and making it a misdemeanor for violating the same.

Licensing stationary engineers in Buffalo.

Providing for the examination and registration of horseshoers in cities.

Registration of laborers for municipal employment.

Relating to air brakes on freight trains.

Providing means for the issuance of quarterly bulletins by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In addition to the foregoing, while Governor of New York he recommended legislation (which the Legislature failed to pass) in regard to—

Employers' liability.

State control of employment offices.

State ownership of printing plant.

Devising means whereby free mechanics shall not be brought into competition with prison labor.

As President of the United States he has signed bills—

Renewing the Chinese exclusion act and extending its provisions to the island territory of the United States.

Prohibiting the employment of Mongolian labor on irrigation works and providing that eight hours shall constitute a day's labor on such projects.

Abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude in the Philippine Islands, violation of the act being punishable by forfeiture of contracts and a fine of not less than \$10,000.

Protecting the lives of employees in coal mines in Territories by regulating the amount of ventilation and providing that entries, &c., shall be kept well dampened with water to cause coal dust to settle.

Exempting from taxation in the District of Columbia household belongings to the value of \$1,000, wearing apparel, libraries, school-books, family portraits and heirlooms.

Requiring proprietors of employment offices in the District of Columbia to pay a license tax of \$10 per year.

Creating the Department of Commerce and Labor and making its head a Cabinet officer.

Improving the act relating to safety appliances on railways.

Increasing the restrictions upon the immigration of cheap foreign labor and prohibiting the landing of alien anarchists.

Theodore Roosevelt ever will be remembered as an official whose interest in the weal of the plain people never diminished from the day that he commenced his public career as Member of Assembly of the State of New York up to the present time. The principles of justice that governed his course in advocating the enactment of labor and reform legislation when he took part in the legislative proceedings at Albany in 1882, 1883 and 1884 were unswervingly maintained while he was Governor of New York in 1899 and 1900, and have been conscientiously adhered to during his incumbency as President of the United States. By comparing the first important event connected with his life work with one of more recent date it will be readily observed how unvarying have been his views on matters of moment affecting the general community.

As Member of the New York Assembly.

New York State has developed an extensive system of labor and reform legislation. The movement that eventually brought about the enactment of these laws commenced in the fore part of the eighties, and Theodore Roosevelt helped to lay its foundation, being among the few eminent publicists who co-operated in that early effort to place upon the statute books the numerous acts that have since proved to be of so much benefit to wage workers.

In 1882 he entered public life as Member of Assembly, and he also served in that capacity in 1883 and 1884. A student of economics, he had familiarized himself with the various phases of the labor question, and he was firm in the belief that the abuses which at that time existed in many employments could be eradicated by suitable enactments. With this end in view, he cast his influence on the side of public spirited citizens and trade unionists who during that period undertook to solve some of the social problems through legislative measures calculated to correct prevalent evils. Sweat shop labor was a subject that received considerable attention in those days, while the restriction of child labor, the regulation of working hours of minors and women, the protection of life and limb, prison labor under the contract system, the better security of mechanics and laborers employed in the building industry and the promotion of industrial peace were topics that occasioned serious deliberation on the part of the men who interested themselves in the welfare of the masses.

Abolition of Tenement House Cigar Factories.

The first important measure in which Assemblyman Roosevelt became interested was introduced in the Legislature of 1882. Its purpose was to improve the public health of New York City by prohibiting the manufacture of cigars or the preparation of tobacco in any form in rooms or apartments of tenement houses. The bill was presented at the request of the cigar makers' unions in the State, and was also indorsed by the State Workingmen's Assembly. It was contended by the labor organizations, "first, that these tenement house cigar factories are a public nuisance; second, that they are detrimental to the educational interests of the State; third, that they are demoralizing in their influence on the community; fourth, that they are an illegitimate interference with a legitimate trade."

In the Assembly the bill was referred to the Committee on Cities, which gave a hearing on the subject, and as a result a subcommittee consisting of five Assemblymen, Mr. Roosevelt being among the number, was selected to investigate the tenement house cigar factories in

New York City. Many of these house shops were found to be in a filthy and insanitary condition, and this inquiry so thoroughly convinced Theodore Roosevelt that the system was a menace to the public health that he became an enthusiastic supporter of the measure to abolish it. It, however, was held up by the Cities Committee, and, on a motion that that committee be discharged from further consideration of the bill, the same to be placed on general orders, he voted in the affirmative. While the motion was carried, the bill did not pass at the session of 1882, but early in 1883 it was again considered and passed by both houses. Assemblyman Roosevelt spoke and voted in its favor. In his remarks advocating the abolition of the tenement house shop he declared:

I have visited these pest holes personally, and I can assure you if smokers could only see how these cigars are made we would not need any legislative action against this system at all.

The "Cigar Makers' Official Journal," published by the Cigar Makers' International Union, in its issue for February, 1883, printed the following editorial comment under the caption "Condemned by the Legislature":

The representatives of the people, both in the Assembly and in the Senate, have decided by overwhelming majorities that tenement house cigar factories are a public nuisance, dangerous to the sanitary, moral, educational and economic welfare of the Commonwealth. So conclusive were the arguments and evidence brought forward by Assemblymen George Francis Roesch and Theodore Roosevelt that the opposition was completely routed and defeated. The working classes and cigar makers in particular owe a debt of gratitude to those Assemblymen and Senators who have successfully fought for a great sanitary reform. Their names will go down to posterity as the friends of labor, as the promoters of a great improvement in the sanitary condition of the working classes.

So deeply interested in the matter was Mr. Roosevelt that he invoked the Governor to approve the measure. Referring to the argument before that official, the "Cigar Makers' Official Journal" for March, 1883, contained this statement:

Tuesday, March 8, was the day which the Governor had assigned for hearing the arguments of the opponents as well as of the friends of the bill, which aims at the prohibition of the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses used for dwelling purposes. . . . Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the representative of the brownstone district of New York, was the first speaker in favor of the bill. He said that his district was not influenced by any trades unions. . . . but this bill was an exception to the rule. During the last session of the Legislature he was appointed on a committee to investigate the tenement house cigar factories.

At the start he was opposed to the bill, but the investigation convinced him that it was a good one. The houses, with hardly a single exception, were in a most filthy condition. Children were crawling on stripped tobacco. Old men and women were crowded together in small, ill-ventilated rooms. He

appealed to the Governor to sign the bill. The representatives of the labor organizations, after a short deliberation, concluded not to speak on the subject, inasmuch as the whole ground had been ably covered and it was unwise to detain the Governor any longer.

The bill was signed, but certain parts of the act were declared unconstitutional, and in 1884 a measure intended to meet the objections of the courts was introduced in the Legislature. This was also favored by Mr. Roosevelt.

As Governor of New York.

While Governor of New York, in 1899 and 1900, Theodore Roosevelt pursued the same consistent course in regard to the enactment of suitable labor legislation that he so persistently followed during his three years' career as Member of Assembly. Not only did he recommend the passage of new laws in the interest of the mass of the people, but he urged the necessity of amending existent labor statutes so as to make them more efficacious, and suggested the adoption of improved methods in order to insure their proper enforcement.

The development in extent and variety of industries has necessitated legislation in the interest of labor—

He wrote in his annual message to the Legislature of 1899.

This legislation is not necessarily against the interest of capital; on the contrary, if wisely devised, it is for the benefit of both laborers and employers. We have very wisely passed many laws for the benefit of labor, in themselves good and for the time being sufficient, but experience has shown that the full benefit of these laws is not obtained, through the lack of proper means of enforcing them and the failure to make any one department responsible for their enforcement. In order that the desire of the people, definitely expressed in this wholesome legislation, shall be made effective, I recommend that the enforcement of the entire body of legislation relating to labor be placed under the Board of Factory Inspectors. This would simplify the whole question of labor legislation and place the responsibility for its enforcement where it properly belongs and would also give the maximum efficiency of service with the minimum cost to the State. With a slight increase in the general force of factory inspectors this work can be done for the whole State and the object of the legislation be satisfactorily secured to the people.

Additional Factory Inspectors Recommended and Provided.

Governor Roosevelt thereupon recommended "that the Legislature provide for additional factory inspectors so as to bring the total number up to fifty." This suggestion was favorably considered by the Legislature, and the number of deputy factory inspectors was increased from thirty-six to fifty.

Empowering the Factory Inspector to Enforce the Provisions of the Scaffolding Law.

In the same message Governor Roosevelt said :

Another important statute of this character relates to providing secure scaffolding in the erection of new buildings. The law on this subject is all that could be desired, but its enforcement is left to the city police, and as a matter of fact practically no provision is made for carrying it into effect. In New York City, where this law is most needed, police officers are unacquainted with the character and requirements of the law. Most of them, indeed, are not aware that the enforcement of this law is any part of their duty.

This recommendation resulted in the passage of an amendment to Section 19 of the labor law, relating to the inspection of scaffolding, or slings, hangers, blocks, pulleys, stays, braces, ladders, iron, or ropes of any swinging or stationary scaffolding used in the construction, alteration, repairing, painting, cleaning or pointing of buildings within the limits of a city, transferring the power of enforcing its provisions from the municipal police authorities to the factory inspector.

Directing the Factory Inspector to Enforce the Act Regulating Hours of Labor on Railroads.

The message of Governor Roosevelt in 1899 also contained the following suggestion :

The law regulating the hours of labor on surface railroads is also an excellent provision against the tendency to work the men an almost unlimited number of hours. The enforcement of this law is left to the railroad commissioners. As they have no active force to use for such a purpose the law fails by default, except when individual citizens undertake the prosecutions. The employee himself will rarely or never complain for fear of being discharged.

In accordance with this recommendation authority to enforce the sections of the act relative to the hours of labor on steam, street, surface and elevated railroads was conferred upon the factory inspector.

An Eight-Hour Day at Prevailing Rates of Wages.

The law requiring an eight-hour day and a prevailing rate of wages for State employees—

Said Governor Roosevelt in his 1899 message to the Legislature—
is not intrusted to any authority for enforcement. If this law is to remain on the statute books it should be enforced, and therefore the Legislature should make it the particular business of somebody to enforce it.

Conformably with the wishes of the executive, the factory inspection department was vested with the power to enforce this act, which was further amended so as to provide that—

Each contract to which the State or a municipal corporation is a party which may involve the employment of laborers, workmen, or mechanics shall contain a stipulation that no laborer, workman or mechanic in the employ of the contractor, subcontractor or other person doing or contracting to do the whole or a part of the work contemplated by the contractor, shall be permitted or required to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency caused by fire, flood, or danger to life or property.

Each contract for such public work hereafter made shall contain a provision that the same shall be void and of no effect unless the person or corporation making or performing the same shall comply with the provisions of this section, and no such person or corporation shall be entitled to receive any sum, nor shall any officer, agent or employee of the State or a municipal corporation pay the same or authorize its payment from the funds under his charge or control to any such person or corporation for work done upon any contract which in its form or manner of performance violates the provision of this section.

Uneconomic, Unwholesome, and Un-American Sweat-Shop System.

Governor Roosevelt's opinion concerning the evils of sweat shop labor, that he formed when Member of Assembly as a result of his searching inquiry into the unhealthy tenement house system of manufacturing cigars, did not undergo a change during the seventeen years that intervened between 1882, when the investigation was made, and 1899. In truth his views on the subject in the latter year, when he urged the Legislature to adopt radical measure to suppress the harmful system, were even more pronounced than those to which he gave utterance while serving as an Assemblyman.

Though the Governor's ideas were not embodied in their entirety in the law that ensued, it contained the essential features recommended by him. Its provisions made it unlawful to manufacture, alter, repair, or finish articles of clothing, feathers, artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, or umbrellas in a room or apartment in any tenement or dwelling house, or in a building situated in the rear of a tenement or dwelling house, without a license from the factory inspection department.

Amendments to the Factory Act.

The following amendments to the factory act were approved by Governor Roosevelt in 1899:

Protecting employees at work on buildings.—When hoisting apparatus is used within a building in course of construction, contractors or owners shall cause the shafts or openings in each floor to be inclosed by a barrier at least 8 feet in height; and if a building be five stories or more in height, no lumber nor timber shall be hoisted on the outside of such building.

Regulating working time of females.—No female shall be employed in a factory before 6 a.m. and after 9 p.m., nor be required to work more than sixty hours per week.

Stairways to be properly lighted.—Stairways leading to work-rooms shall be properly lighted, such lights to be independent of the motive power of a factory.

Prohibiting the operation of dangerous machinery by children.—Children under 16 years of age shall not be permitted to operate or assist in operating dangerous machines of any kind.

Women and male minors not permitted to work on polishing or buffing wheels.—No male child under 18 years of age nor any female shall be employed in operating polishing or buffing wheels.

Boiler inspection.—Directing the factory inspector to inspect boilers in factories in localities where no local laws prevail on the subject.

Tenement House Reform.

Tenement house conditions in the congested districts of New York City had become so dreadful that Governor Roosevelt felt impelled in 1900 to appeal to the Legislature to take action toward remedying the evil effects of the system and in the interest of the dwellers in the dark and poorly ventilated rooms of these houses, in which the health of the occupants was also menaced by foul cellars, airshafts and courts, arising from the accumulation of filth. He dwelt as follows upon the subject in his annual message:

I urge that the Legislature give particular attention to the need of reform in the laws governing the tenement houses. The Tenement House Commission of 1894 declared that, in its opinion, the tenement house laws needed to be revised as often as once in five years, and I am confident that the improvements in building materials and construction of tenements and the advance in sanitary legislation all demand further modification of existing laws. Probably the best course to follow would be to appoint a commission to present a revised code of tenement house laws.

As a consequence of the foregoing recommendation a bill to create a tenement house commission was introduced.

The bill passed, and Governor Roosevelt appointed representative citizens on the commission, which included sociologists, philanthropists, architects, builders, real estate owners and agents, a prominent labor leader in the building trades, and men who had been connected with the New York City health, building and fire departments. The commission's report, which was submitted in 1901, accompanied by a bill proposing important changes in the methods of tenement house construction, was a valuable document covering all sides of the housing problem. It reported that the worst feature of the New York tenement house was lack of air and light, which was direct-

ly responsible for the undue prevalence of tuberculosis, medical experts having testified that the number of deaths from that disease reached 8,000 annually and that one-third of these lives might be saved by providing a type of tenement house with sufficient light and ventilation. Another constant source of danger was the narrow air shaft, which acted as a flue in the spread of tenement house fires and contagious diseases; and as most of the bedroom windows opened upon these air shafts, it was impossible to preserve privacy in a family which occupied rooms opposite those of another family.

Professional vice was found to exist in many tenements, being largely due to the irresponsibility of landlords. The findings of the commission impressed practical legislators, who succeeded in having the major part of their recommendations enacted into law. This act provides for the establishment of a tenement house department in New York City, to which shall be submitted all plans for tenement houses, and whose approval must be obtained before such buildings can be occupied after completion, and also requires the appointment of a large corps of inspectors so that existing dwellings may be kept under surveillance.

Increasing the Salaries of New York City Public School Teachers.

So deep was the interest manifested by the New York City public school teachers in the bill to regulate and increase their salaries that on March 14, 1900, Governor Roosevelt sent to the Legislature a message certifying to the necessity of the immediate passage of the measure. It met with the approval of both houses and was signed by the Governor, who filed with the act a memorandum pointing out that—

Its general purpose is admirable, and the best educators—the men most interested in seeing the public schools of the greater New York put upon a thoroughly efficient basis— . . . most earnestly favor the measure.

The law gave the department of education power to adopt by-laws to establish a uniform schedule of salaries for the teaching staff throughout all the boroughs and prescribed an equal annual increment of salary. It provided that a kindergartner or female teacher of a girls' class other than those teaching grades of the last two years in elementary schools shall, after sixteen years of service, receive not less than \$1,240 per annum, and that a female teacher of a girls' class of the grades of the last two years shall, after fifteen years of service, receive not less than \$1,320 per annum; that a female teacher of a girls' graduating class, female first assistant, or female vice-principal shall, after ten years of service, receive not less than \$1,440 per annum; that a female teacher of a boys' or mixed class shall receive not less than \$60 per annum more than a female teacher of a girls' class

of corresponding grade and of years of service, and that a female teacher in elementary schools shall receive not less than \$600 per annum, nor shall her annual increment be less than \$40; that a male teacher of a class of the grades of the last two years shall, after twelve years' service, receive not less than \$2,160 per annum; that a male teacher of a graduating class, male first assistant, or male vice-principal shall, after ten years' service, receive not less than \$2,400 per year; that a male teacher shall receive not less than \$900 a year, nor shall his annual increment be less than \$105.

Municipal Ownership of Rapid Transit Railways.

There is now before your body a measure looking toward the securing of rapid transit for the city of New York. I deem it of very great importance that a scheme providing for rapid transit in the city should be passed at the earliest practicable moment. But it is even more important that this scheme should be one which will work for the ultimate benefit of the city. It does not seem to me wise that a franchise of this nature should be given in perpetuity. It would, of course, be best to have it owned by the municipality, although I would point out to the advocates of municipal ownership that it is doubly incumbent upon them to take the most efficient means of rebuking municipal corruption, and of insisting upon a high standard of continuous fidelity to duty among municipal employees. Only if the government of the municipality is honest will it be possible ever to justify fully the workings of municipal ownership.

These sentiments were expressed by Governor Roosevelt in a special message to the Legislature, and in 1900 that body passed an amendatory measure, which received the Governor's signature, extending the system of municipal construction of rapid transit railways to any city of over 1,000,000 inhabitants formed by the consolidation of one or more cities and other territory. This amended act also made it lawful for the Board of Rapid Transit Railroad Commissioners to locate the route of a railroad by tunnel under any river or waters, thus making possible the present extension of the rapid transit system from the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, under the East River to and through a large part of the Borough of Brooklyn. The project will, when completed, afford considerable relief to people in the latter borough who live long distances from the centers of commerce and industry, carrying them to and from their homes, far removed from the densely crowded portions of the city, in comfort and in much less time than under the existing inadequate method of conveyance, besides encouraging many who now reside in the congested districts to seek dwelling places in less densely settled sections near the Brooklyn terminal of the new railway.

The President and Trades-Unionism.

While intelligence and character still count as essential elements of success in individuals, there remains room for associated action in large enterprises where the individual is swallowed up in the multitude and personal contact of employer and employee is no longer possible. One of 5,000 wage workers employed in a factory could never hope to induce the employers to reduce his hours of work from fourteen or sixteen to ten a day, but if all of the 5,000 workmen unite in such a request they may accomplish their object and effect a change so momentous in the lives of workingmen. The fact is that in large scale production the workman is at a hopeless disadvantage in making an individual bargain with the employer. His only salvation lies in joining his fellow workmen and making a collective bargain with the employer regarding wages and the conditions under which they shall work. In forming a union and choosing their officers and representatives the workmen are simply following the example of capitalists, who form a corporation and delegate their powers to directors or trustees.

The Necessity of Trades Unions.

This fact is fully recognized by President Roosevelt in common with the political economists and other leaders of thought at the present time. Thus in his address at Sioux Falls, S. D., April 6, 1903, he declared that "much can be done by organization, combination—union among the wage workers," and went on to explain the change that has come about in modern industry, as follows:

The wage workers in our cities, like the capitalists in our cities, face totally changed conditions. The development of machinery and the extraordinary changes in business conditions have rendered the employment of capital and of persons in large aggregations not merely profitable, but often necessary for success, and have specialized the labor of the wage worker at the same time that they have brought great aggregations of wage workers together. More and more in our great industrial centers men have come to realize that they cannot live as independently of one another as in the old days was the case everywhere and as is now the case in the country districts. Of course, fundamentally, each man will yet find that the chief factor in determining his success or failure in life is the sum of his own individual qualities. He cannot afford to lose his individual limitation—his individual will and power, but he can best use that power if for certain objects he unites with his fellows.

Similarly, in his first message to Congress, in 1901, the President declared that "very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations of wage workers when managed with forethought, and

when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law abiding respect for the rights of others. The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves."

Elected to Honorary Membership by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

In September, 1902, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, assembled in annual convention at Chattanooga, Tenn., conferred upon President Roosevelt the degree of grand honorary membership, as indicated in the following report of the proceedings:

John F. McNorrell, of Columbus, Ohio, one of the grand officers, and a Democratic member of the Legislature, moved that the degree of grand honorary membership be conferred upon President Roosevelt. The motion was referred to the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws, whose recommendation was unanimous that the motion be adopted. The report of the committee was adopted by a unanimous rising vote amid great cheers.

The President thanked the convention for the compliment paid him, and Grand Master Sargent then gave him a pass which admits him to all meetings of the Brotherhood.

The President, in addressing the convention, declared that "organization is one of the laws of our social and economic development at this time. I believe emphatically in organized labor."

Union Labor in Government Work.

In his first message to Congress, in 1901, President Roosevelt recommended that "provision be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain," and also that the Government should provide in its contracts that all work for it should be done under "fair" conditions.

By this expression it is understood that the President meant that no contract should be given or no contractor employed by the Government who would not agree to pay the union scale of wages; in other words, no contractor should, in any way, be allowed to obtain a contract from the Government by lessening the price paid the employees for their labor to a point less than the "fair" or union scale of wages or by working more than the usual number of hours per day which had been fixed for the trade.

While thus favoring the union standard of wages and hours in Government work the President recognizes the illegality of any discrimination for or against members of a union. Thus in the case of William A. Miller, who complained that he was removed from his position of assistant foreman in the Government Printing Office, in violation of the civil service law, because he had been expelled from Local Union No. 4 of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders,

the President ordered Miller's reinstatement and explained the rule governing public employment in the following communication to Secretary Cortelyou, in whose charge the President placed the investigation:

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 13, 1903.

MY DEAR SECRETARY CORTELYOU: In accordance with the letter of the Civil Service Commission of July 6, the Public Printer will reinstate Mr. W. A. Miller in his position. Meanwhile I will withhold my final decision of the whole case until I have received the report of the investigation on Miller's second communication, which you notify me has been begun to-day, July 13.

On the face of the papers presented, Miller would appear to have been removed in violation of law. There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire, but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce.

Please communicate a copy of this letter to the Public Printer for his information and that of his subordinates.

Very truly, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 14, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. CORTELYOU: In connection with my letter of yesterday, I call attention to this judgment and award by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission in its report to me of March 18 last:

"It is adjudged and awarded that no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or nonmembership in any labor organization, and that there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization."

I heartily approve of this award and judgment by the commission appointed by me, which itself included a member of a labor union. This commission was dealing with labor organizations working for private employers. It is, of course, mere elementary decency to require that all the Government Departments shall be handled in accordance with the principle thus clearly and fearlessly enunciated.

Please furnish a copy of this letter both to Mr. Palmer and to the Civil Service Commission for their guidance.

Sincerely, yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEORGE B. CORTELYOU,
Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Mr. Palmer, the Public Printer, on Wednesday, July 16, notified Mr. Miller that he had been reinstated and might report for duty any day.

On September 29, 1903, the President gave a hearing to members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the subject of pending labor legislation, at which he announced his final decision in the Miller case and at the same time explained his preference for the "union shop" in private employment. The president of the American Federation of Labor in an address, issued on the succeeding day, to organized labor of America thus described President Roosevelt's attitude:

Replying to statements on the subject, President Roosevelt set forth that in his decision he had nothing in mind but a strict compliance with Federal, including civil service, law and that he recognized a difference between employment by the Government, circumscribed by those laws, and any other form of employment, and that his decision in the Miller case should not be understood to have any other effect or influence than affecting direct employment by the Government in accordance therewith. He furthermore

made plain that in any form of employment excepting that so circumscribed he believed the full employment of union men was preferable either to non-union or open shops.

Following is the official account of the hearing:

September 29, 1903.

Pursuant to the request of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, the President granted an interview this evening to the following members of the Executive Council of that body: Mr. Samuel Gompers, Mr. James Duncan, Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. James O'Connell, and Mr. Frank Morrison, at which various subjects of legislation in the interests of labor, as well as Executive action, were discussed. Concerning the case of William A. Miller, the President made the following statement:

"I thank you and your committee for your courtesy, and I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you. It will always be a pleasure to see you or any representatives of your organizations or of your federation as a whole.

"As regards the Miller case, I have little to add to what I have already said. In dealing with it I ask you to remember that I am dealing purely with the relation of the Government to its employees. I must govern my action by the laws of the land, which I am sworn to administer, and which differentiate any case in which the Government of the United States is a party from all other cases whatsoever. These laws are enacted for the benefit of the whole people, and cannot and must not be construed as permitting discrimination against some of the people. I am President of all the people of the United States, without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation, or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact justice as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the Government service I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union, as being for or against him, than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him.

"In the communications sent me by various labor organizations protesting against the retention of Miller in the Government Printing Office the grounds alleged are twofold: First, that he is a nonunion man; second, that he is not personally fit. The question of his personal fitness is one to be settled in the routine of administrative detail, and cannot be allowed to conflict with or to complicate the larger question of governmental discrimination for or against him or any other man because he is or is not a member of a union. This is the only question now before me for decision, and as to this my decision is final."

In the foregoing statement of policy President Roosevelt merely reiterated his well-known conviction that the law must be administered with absolutely no discrimination. Thus, in his address at Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903, he declared that—

The law is no respecter of persons. The law is to be administered neither for the rich man nor for the poor man as such. It is to be administered for every man, rich or poor, if he is an honest and law abiding citizen, and it is to be invoked against any man, rich or poor, who violates it, without regard to which end of the social scale he may stand, without regard to whether his offense takes the form of greed and cunning or the form of physical violence. In either case, if he violates the law, the law is to be invoked against him, and in so invoking it I have the right to challenge the support of all good citizens and to demand the acquiescence of every good man. I hope I shall have it; but, once for all, I wish it understood that even if I did not have it, I would enforce the law anyhow.

Cunning as well as Force Must be Shackled.

In his recognition of unsocial and illegal action through cunning, President Roosevelt differs from those critics of workingmen who see crime in every act of intimidation or physical violence that occurs in the course of a strike or lockout, but fail to recognize the lawlessness of the men who obtain special privileges from legislatures and municipal councils or evade the payment of their just taxes. Thus, in an

address at the Buffalo Independent Club, May 5, 1899, Governor Roosevelt declared that—

The rich man who gets a privilege through the legislature by bribery and corruption for any corporation is committing an offense against the community which it is possible may some day have to be condoned in blood and destruction, not by him, not by his sons, but by you and your sons.

And while the lawlessness of greed and cunning may lead to anarchy as surely as lawless physical violence, "it is far more difficult to deal with, but the effort to deal with it must be steadily made," as the President said in his Sioux Falls address, April 6, 1903.

But while fearlessly pointing out the lawless acts committed by a few rich men and by a few poor men, President Roosevelt does not join in the lamentations of those who despair of government by the people. On the contrary, he deprecates the fostering of hostility between classes.

The President and the Coal Strike of 1902.

The appointment of this commission, which resulted in the termination of the great coal strike of 1902, is perhaps President Roosevelt's most widely known and generally appreciated contribution toward the improvement of industrial relations. When the efforts of all other peacemakers had come to naught and the coal famine remained unbroken at the near approach of winter, Mr. Roosevelt, as a representative American citizen, pleaded with the operators and miners to terminate their dispute and resume the mining of coal. Public opinion supported his action so strongly that both sides to the dispute agreed to resume work and leave to a commission to be appointed by the President the determination of the conditions of employment concerning which they had been unable to agree. The President's commission not only adjusted the dispute in the coal regions, but in so doing formulated principles of very general application to the organization of industry at the present time. The immediate effect of the commission's appointment was, as the President has himself stated, "of vast and incalculable benefit to the nation, but the ultimate effect will be even better if capitalist, wage worker and lawmaker alike will take to heart and act upon the lessons set forth in the report" of the commission. The coal industry is typical of all the great industries of to-day that are organized on the principle of large scale production, and its treatment of the labor problem is therefore highly illuminative.

Origin of the Strike.

Under the influence of a vast stream of immigration of Poles, Hungarians and Slavs into the coal regions during the last two or three

decades wages had steadily declined. The American miners saw their own standard of living threatened by the lower standards brought from central Europe unless they could induce these newcomers to unite with them in an effort to put an end to the incessant underbidding for employment. In 1897 they brought their organization, the United Mine Workers, to such a state of perfection that it dominated the labor situation in the bituminous regions and met the employers' associations on an equality in the annual settlement of the terms of employment. In 1899 the organization spread to the anthracite regions, and the next year was able to secure a 10 per cent. advance in wages, after a comparatively short strike that was supported as heartily by the miners outside the union as by the minority at that time in the union.

As a consequence of this triumph a vast majority of the miners joined the organization, which thereupon sought to represent the miners in making terms with the employers' agents at annual conferences such as were held with the bituminous operators. The denial of this request by the officers of the mining corporations nearly brought on another strike in 1901, and when early in 1902 a similar request, accompanied with a demand for an advance in wages, etc., was once more denied, industrial peace could no longer be preserved. The operators even refused the union's offer to submit its demands to the arbitration of the National Civic Federation or other arbitrators, and a week later a delegate convention of the anthracite mine workers voted to continue the strike ordered on May 12. In obedience to this decision, says the commission, "nearly the entire body of mine workers, which numbers about 147,000, abandoned their employment and remained idle until the strike was called off by another convention,"—that is, until October 23, 1902.

Action of the President.

With the progress of summer and the failure of all mediatory efforts to adjust the differences between the miners and the operators the scarcity of fuel made itself felt. Many factories that were dependent upon anthracite had to shut down, throwing large numbers of working people out of employment, and the famine prices at which coal was sold almost prohibited its use for domestic purposes by the poorer families. As cold weather approached the President felt himself virtually compelled to act in order to avert unexampled distress throughout all eastern communities that depended upon anthracite coal for domestic heating purposes. On October 1 he telegraphed an invitation to the presidents of the five coal railroad companies, a prominent individual operator, and the president of the miners' organ-

ization to confer with him "in regard to the failure of the coal supply, which had become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation." To these seven persons, who met the President at the White House on October 3, Mr. Roosevelt said:

I wish to call your attention to the fact that there are three parties affected by the situation in the anthracite trade—the operators, the miners, and the general public. I speak for neither the operators nor the miners, but for the general public. The questions at issue which led to the situation affect immediately the parties concerned—the operators and the miners—but the situation itself vitally affects the public. As long as there seemed to be a reasonable hope that these matters could be adjusted between the parties, it did not seem proper to me to intervene in any way. I disclaim any right or duty to intervene in this way upon legal grounds or upon any official relation that I bear to the situation, but the urgency and the terrible nature of the catastrophe impending over a large portion of our people in the shape of a winter fuel famine impel me, after much anxious thought, to believe that my duty requires me to use whatever influence I personally can to bring to an end a situation which has become literally intolerable. I wish to emphasize the character of the situation and to say that its gravity is such that I am constrained urgently to insist that each one of you realize the heavy burden of responsibility upon him.

We are upon the threshold of winter, with an already existing coal famine, the future terrors of which we can hardly yet appreciate. The evil possibilities are so far-reaching, so appalling, that it seems to me that you are not only justified in sinking, but required to sink for the time being, any tenacity as to your respective claims in the matter at issue between you. In my judgment the situation imperatively requires that you meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public. With all the earnestness there is in me, I ask that there be an immediate resumption of operations in the coal mines in some such way as will without a day's unnecessary delay meet the crying needs of the people.

I do not invite a discussion of your respective claims and positions. I appeal to your patriotism, to the spirit that sinks personal considerations and makes individual sacrifices for the general good.

At the conclusion of the President's remarks Mr. Mitchell replied as follows:

Mr. President, I am much impressed with what you say. I am impressed with the gravity of the situation. We feel that we are not responsible for this terrible state of affairs. We are willing to meet the gentlemen representing the coal operators to try to adjust our differences among ourselves. If we cannot adjust them that way, Mr. President, we are willing that you shall name a tribunal who shall determine the issues that have resulted in this strike; and if the gentlemen representing the operators will accept the award or decision of such a tribunal, the miners will willingly accept it, even if it is against their claims.

The PRESIDENT: Before considering what ought to be done I think it only just to both of you—both sides—and desirable from my standpoint, that you should have time to consider what I have stated as to the reasons for my getting you together, and I shall trespass so far upon your good nature as to ask that this interview cease now and that you come back at 3 o'clock. I should like you to think over what I have stated, not to decide now, but give it careful thought, and return at 3 o'clock.

The conference then adjourned until 3 o'clock.

The President then put an end to the interview and asked both parties to think over what he had stated and return in the afternoon. Upon reassembling the operators made long statements of their side of the case; but in reply to the President's inquiry whether they would accept Mr. Mitchell's proposition they answered "No." In response to a further question from the President they stated that they would have no dealings whatever with Mr. Mitchell looking to-

ward a settlement of the question at issue and that they had no other proposition to make, save what was contained in the statement of Mr. Baer, which, in effect, was that if any man chose to resume work and had a difficulty with his employer, both should leave the settlement of the question to the judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the mine was located.

In view of the growing public demand for the resumption of coal mining, however, the operators reconsidered their refusal to arbitrate their dispute with the miners, and a few days later proposed that it be settled by a commission of five, to be appointed by the President, and to be composed of an officer of the army or navy, an expert mining engineer, a United States Circuit Court judge from Pennsylvania, a sociologist and a man who had been in the coal business. As the last mentioned member would come from the ranks of the employers, the miners naturally demanded a modification of the operators' proposition, which should allow them a representative on the commission.

When the commission was appointed on October 16 it therefore consisted of six members, and by the subsequent addition of the United States Commissioner of Labor its final composition was as follows: Brig.-Gen. John M. Wilson, Edward M. Parker of the United States Geological Survey, Judge George Gray of the United States Circuit Court of the eastern district of Pennsylvania, Bishop John L. Spaulding of the Catholic Church, Thomas H. Watkins, a retired coal operator; Edgar E. Clark, chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, and Hon. Carroll D. Wright. On October 21 a convention of the miners voted to submit all the questions at issue to this commission and to resume work on October 23. The presidents of the anthracite coal roads agreed to abide by the decision of the commission, and in the course of its proceedings the leading independent operators and the nonunion miners also became parties to the arbitration agreement, so that the board's awards, when announced on March 18, 1903, covered virtually the entire anthracite mining industry.

The Increase of Wages.

The four demands of the miners were for an increase of 20 per cent. in the piece rates paid to contract miners, the rates to be based on weight of the coal instead of the carload, a reduction of 20 per cent. (from ten to eight hours a day) in the hours of labor of workmen employed by the day, and the recognition of the union by the establishment of a joint trade agreement between the representatives of employers and employed. The commission compromised on the matter of wages by awarding an increase of 10 per cent., with additional increases under a sliding scale system when the market price

of coal rose above the existing level; a reduction in hours from ten to nine; the establishment of a joint board of conciliation, representing employers and employed, to decide disputed questions during the life of the award (to March 31, 1906). The advance in wage rates took effect November 1, 1902.

Recognition of the Union.

Notwithstanding the importance of the wages question, the really fundamental point at issue was the recognition of the right of collective bargaining—that is, the right of the workingmen to combine and choose representatives to make an annual bargain or contract with the company officials (the representatives of the stockholders or employers) concerning the conditions of employment, as is the practice in the bituminous trade, on the great railway systems, and in large scale manufacturing. While denying in terms the miners' demand for "the incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers and the anthracite coal companies of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, together with satisfactory methods for the adjustment of grievances," the commission in effect sustained the miners by upholding the principle of collective bargaining and by establishing a joint board of arbitration, on which the representatives of the employees must inevitably be officers of the union.

The commission stated its belief that with certain changes in its constitution the mine workers' organization would merit recognition by the employers. At present the boys in the union constitute about 20 per cent. of the membership, and the presence of this immature element might readily lead to trouble by carrying a vote for a strike when the more conservative and experienced members might be opposed to it. The commission also believes that instead of a majority vote there should be required at least a two-thirds vote of all the delegates in a convention in order to begin a strike. Finally, the commission expresses a hope that—

When under the award the parties have faithfully obeyed its terms and thus learned to deal with each other, a trade agreement between operators and an anthracite mine workers' organization may commend itself to both sides. *We believe this, especially when it is considered that in other directions and in other industries such agreements have been made and adhered to for terms of years, completely avoiding strikes and labor controversies generally.* Of course here and there in the bituminous regions these agreements may not have worked with perfect satisfaction to both parties, and in some districts they have been abandoned after a brief trial. But, on the whole, the experience under them in this country and in England testifies to their great usefulness in preserving peace and harmony.

Meanwhile, during the life of the award, disputes arising between employers and employees are to be adjusted by a permanent joint committee or board of conciliation composed of three representatives

of the operators and the same number of representatives of the miners. When this committee is unable to decide any question submitted, such question is to be referred to an umpire appointed by a judge of the United States Circuit Court. As the miners' representatives in each of the three districts are to be selected by the union whenever its membership comprises a majority of the mine workers in that district, the award is tantamount to the recognition of the union during the three years of its life.

The Right to Strike and the Right to Work.

Having thus vindicated the principles of unionism, the commission ruled that no operator should discriminate against union men in the matter of employment. It likewise ruled that union men should not discriminate against or interfere with nonunionists, pointing out that such discrimination on the part of either employer or employed constitutes a serious menace to the discipline of the miner, which, on account of the hazardous nature of the work, should be as nearly perfect as possible.

The right to strike the commission firmly upholds, but this does not include the right to persecute men who choose to work.

The commission censured both operators and miners for the disorder, violence and lawlessness that accompanied the strike and culminated in three murders. It deprecated the employment by the mining companies of coal and iron policemen as militating against the very purpose for which they are employed—that of preserving peace and protecting property. While as a body they were men of good character, the commission found that there was a sufficient number of bad characters to discredit the efforts of the whole body. On the other hand, the strikers had permitted intimidation, riot and bloodshed; men who chose to be employed or who remained at work were assailed and threatened, and they and their families terrorized and intimidated. While "the leaders of the union, and notably its president, condemned all violence and exhorted their followers to sobriety and moderation . . . the subordinate local organizations and their leaders were not so amenable to such counsels as to prevent the regrettable occurrences. It is in the power of a minority of the less responsible men and boys, together with the idle and vicious, unless properly restrained, to destroy the peace and order of any community, and absence of protection and of active resistance on the part of the better element means encouragement and license to this class."

The President and Property Rights.

President Roosevelt's successful intervention in the coal strike met with the almost unanimous approval of the people, irrespective of

their political affiliations. It was not until the commission's award had been made, and thought of the great disturbance nearly banished from the minds of the people, that criticism of his conduct, arising out of the resentment of the coal mine presidents and the desire to make political capital, began to appear, based on the allegation that his interference amounted to a modification of property rights. But the criticism was hushed almost as soon as it appeared by the declaration of Judge Gray, a member of the political party opposed to the President, that "the President's action, so far from interfering with or infringing upon property rights, tended to conserve them."

Judge Gray's Statement:

Judge Gray's statement, which appeared in a New York City newspaper September 1, 1903, was as follows:

I have no hesitation in saying that the President of the United States was confronted in October, 1902, by the existence of a crisis more grave and threatening than any that had occurred since the Civil War. I mean that the cessation of mining in the anthracite coal country, brought about by the dispute between the miners and those who controlled the greatest natural monopoly in this country and perhaps in the world, had brought upon more than one-half of the American people a condition of deprivation of one of the necessities of life, and the probable continuance of the dispute threatened not only the comfort and health, but the safety and good order of the nation. He was without legal or constitutional power to interfere, but his position as President of the United States gave him an influence, a leadership, as first citizen of the Republic, that enabled him to appeal to the patriotism and good sense of the parties to the controversy and to place upon them the moral coercion of public opinion to agree to an arbitrament of the strike then existing and threatening consequences so direful to the whole country. He acted promptly and courageously, and in so doing averted the dangers to which I have alluded.

So far from interfering or infringing upon property rights, the President's action tended to conserve them. The peculiar situation as regards the anthracite coal interest was that they controlled a natural monopoly of a product necessary to the comfort and to the very life of a large portion of the people. A prolonged deprivation of the enjoyment of this necessary of life would have tended to precipitate an attack upon these property rights of which you speak, for, after all, it is vain to deny that this property, so peculiar in its conditions, and which is properly spoken of as "a natural monopoly," is affected with a public interest.

I do not think that any President ever acted more wisely, courageously or promptly in a national crisis. Mr. Roosevelt deserves unstinted praise for what he did.

Roosevelt's

Military

Record

By

Brigadier-General
HENRY V. BOYNTON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL.

1900

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ROOSEVELT'S MILITARY RECORD

BY

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY V. BOYNTON

President Roosevelt is not running on his military record—though there is everything in that to commend him to his countrymen—but upon his whole career in the service of the public, culminating in the Presidency. He is the youngest American to have attained his present position. As the country well knows, his long record has been successful and brilliant at every stage. From his youth he has done with his might whatever his hand found to do for the public good. Upon this continuing service, whose last years have made his personality and his merits known to the world, his party, with enthusiastic acclaim, now appeals to the voters of the land to give him a term in the Presidency wholly on his own account.

But veterans of the civil war and of the war with Spain, while fully appreciating his long and brilliant civil record, will hold this in chief remembrance to his credit: that promptly, upon the declaration of war, he put behind him high and attractive office, and the many ties of a typical American home, and accepted a subordinate regimental position that he might serve as a soldier under his country's flag. And those who know the hearts of veterans will understand that this, to them,

will be higher commendation than any success in civil life, even that great success obtained in the Presidential chair.

As school children know, and as veterans keep clearly in mind, every war has furnished its President, Washington for the Revolution, Jackson and Harrison for 1812, Taylor for Mexico, and every successful Republican candidate since the close of the civil war—Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, McKinley—all of these entering with regimental rank, except McKinley, who had the greater honor of enlisting as a private soldier.

Rated on the basis of land fighting, the war with Spain was a little war. Estimated by results, it takes exalted rank. The civil war made us a nation. The war with Spain advanced us to front rank as a world power. When that war closed and important international questions followed each other in quick succession, foreign sneering at the United States and its "shirt-sleeves diplomacy" ended, and the chancelleries of Europe thereafter asked first concerning the probable position of our Administration. The nation had advanced in a day a century's march in ordinary national progress. Shall not such a war have its President?

The civil war is a memory—a memory of great days of the Republic that will always live and grow brighter as the years pass—but its leaders are either at rest or nearing the limit of life. A grateful nation can not longer select its President from those honored ranks.

While Vice-President Roosevelt gave helpful strength and enthusiasm to the ticket upon which he ran, it was not a ticket formed especially to recognize the war with Spain. That was not its predominating feature. President Roosevelt did not reach the executive office as a result of a personal election to it. That honor now awaits him. When it is conferred, veterans of the country's battles then can feel that, following the unbroken record of the nation, its last war has furnished a President in the person of a brilliant soldier, elected at the head of his party's ticket.

There are those who have amused themselves by making light of the President's part at Santiago, but let it be remembered that with all their ribaldry they have never ventured to question his reckless courage there. Honor in war, as every true soldier views it, is not a matter of rank, but the fact of promptly rallying at the country's call, and faithfully and efficiently executing all orders, whether on the battlefield or elsewhere under the flag. Once enrolled, and subject to orders, it is not in the power of any soldier to control his career. At every step his sole duty is to obey. The humblest private places his life at the disposal of the Government; the commanders of armies can not do more. In the ultimate of offering life, if need be, they stand on a common plane.

At Santiago, and the battles which led up to it, Colonel Roosevelt's place in the lines was assigned him. In each of them he displayed the extreme of soldierly endeavor. For his part in each he was warmly commended by his superior officers, and recommended for brevets up to the rank of Brigadier-General by an Army Board. Those who sneer at such accomplishment show a total want of appreciation of services for the country performed at the risk of life; and such merit only the contempt of their fellow men. The veterans of our wars will surely resent their insults.

The year before the declaration of war with Spain, he sought the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. For this he had fitted himself by years of study of Naval affairs, during which, in the opinion of naval experts, he wrote the best history then extant of the Naval War of 1812. He was sharply opposed by public officials who now fawn about him. Had their active hostility succeeded, the months preceding the outbreak of the war would not have been utilized by untiring gun practice of our battleships at sea, and other numerous and strenuous preparations for naval war, which Assistant Secretary Roosevelt insisted upon and secured. It was this practice which made possible the marvelous victories which accurate gunnery gave the nation at Manila Bay and Santiago, and gained for

the American Navy the admiration and wholesome respect of the world.

Having accomplished what the restricted limits of an Assistant Secretary's office would allow, upon the declaration of war he sought opportunity to take the field. It was not position which allured him, for he chose subordinate place when he could as easily have started at the head of a regiment. He desired first to learn field duties and thus fit himself for the head. To this end he devoted himself unceasingly and successfully.

It must, of necessity, be true that soldiers who have served on the battlefields of the country have in some respects a higher appreciation than others can have of the elements of character which fit a man for conducting the affairs of the nation which they saved. Such must find in the character and career of President Roosevelt, all that soldiers admire, all which inspires their confidence in one holding the highest civil position. In this day of the reign of money, and corporate interests good and bad, soldiers glory in courage, independence, prompt and honest dealings—all flashing out upon the country as from a well served battery. So, also, soldiers stand the more solidly for civil virtues, because they feel, as no others can, the value of a country saved or advanced by duties performed on the field of battle.

Having served on the Army Board of Brevets and Medals of Honor it is possible to speak with precision concerning the conduct of Colonel Roosevelt in the Santiago campaign. Voluminous papers were submitted to that Board by his superior officers and his immediate associates. There was perfect agreement among them all. With one accord they celebrated his conduct under fire in terms of which any officer of any field of renown might well be proud. But the highest eulogy will be found in the papers themselves which make full answer to the sneers and ribaldry of writers, who, solely for political effect, have been willing to unman themselves by ridiculing the manly and meritorious conduct of a soldier in action.

The following are from the papers in the case of General

Joe Wheeler's recommendation that promotion for Las Guasimas, and a Medal of Honor for his conduct in the battle of San Juan Hill be given to Colonel Roosevelt. They fairly represent the entire record.

HEADQUARTERS, CAVALRY DIVISION, U. S. ARMY.

FORT SAN JUAN, CUBA, July 17, 1898.

The Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.

(Through military channels.)

SIR:

I have the honor to invite attention to the following list of officers and enlisted men who specially distinguished themselves in the action at Las Guasimas, Cuba, June 24, 1898.

These officers and men have been recommended for favorable consideration by their immediate commanding officers in their respective reports, and I would respectfully urge that favorable action be taken.

Officers:

* * * * *

In 1st U. S. Volunteer Cavalry.

Colonel Leonard Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

* * * * *

Very respectfully,

JOS. WHEELER,

Major-General, U. S. Volunteers, Commanding.

The Board of Brevets, etc., convened by Par. 19, S. O., 255, A. G. O., 1898, recommended that brevets "For gallantry in battle, Las Guasimas, Cuba, June 24, 1898," be awarded to the within named officers, as follows:

* * * * *

Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, 1st U. S. Vol. Cavalry, to be brevetted Colonel, U. S. V.

* * * * *

Upon the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt of the part taken by his regiment in the assault of July 1, 1898, against the Spanish forces at Santiago, Major-General Jos. Wheeler placed his indorsement:

“Respectfully forwarded. Colonel Roosevelt and his entire command deserve high commendation.”

Colonel Wood, commanding 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, in his report, states that Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt, commanding 1st squadron, and Major Alexander O. Brodie, commanding 2d squadron, deserved great credit for the intelligence and courage with which they handled their men.

Colonel Wood also specially mentioned Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt for “conspicuous gallantry in leading a charge on one of the hills.”

And subsequently the Board of Brevets added Las Guasimas to the actions at Santiago for which the brevet of Brigadier-General was recommended.

HEADQUARTERS, SECOND BRIGADE.

TRENCHES IN FRONT OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA, CUBA.

July 6, 1898.

To the Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.

(Through military channels.)

SIR:

I have the honor to recommend Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, 1st U. S. Vol. Cavalry, for a medal of honor, for distinguished gallantry in leading a charge on one of the entrenched hills to the east of the Spanish position in the suburbs of Santiago de Cuba, July 1, 1898.

Very respectfully,

LEONARD WOOD,

Colonel, 1st U. S. Vol. Cavalry, Commanding 2d Cav. Brigade.

(1st Endorsement.)

HEADQUARTERS, CAVALRY DIVISION.

BEFORE SANTIAGO DE CUBA, *July 9, 1898.*

Respectfully forwarded to the Adjutant-General, 5th Army Corps, earnestly recommended.

JOS. WHEELER,
Major-General, U. S. Volunteers, Commanding.

(2d Endorsement.)

HEADQUARTERS, 5TH ARMY CORPS.

CAMP NEAR SANTIAGO DE CUBA, *July 9, 1898.*

Respectfully forwarded to the Adjutant-General of the Army, approved.

WM. R. SHAFTER,
Major-General, U. S. Volunteers, Commanding.

RECORD AND PENSION OFFICE, WAR DEPARTMENT.

WASHINGTON, *September 17, 1898.*

Respectfully submitted to the Honorable the Secretary of War, with report inclosed.

F. C. AINSWORTH,
Colonel, U. S. Army, Chief of Office.

The Board on Brevets, etc., convened by Par. 19, S. O., 255, A. G. O., 1898, recommended that brevets "For gallantry in battle, Santiago de Cuba, July 1, 1898," be awarded the within named officers of the 1st Vol. Cavalry, as follows:

Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, to be brevetted Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

* * * * *

HEADQUARTERS, 1ST DIVISION, 2D ARMY CORPS.

CAMP MACKENZIE, GA., *Dec. 30, 1898.*

Adjutant-General, Washington, D. C.

SIR:

I have the honor to recommend Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, late Colonel, 1st U. S. Vol. Cavalry, for a medal of honor, as a

reward for conspicuous gallantry at the battle of San Juan, Cuba, on July 1, 1898.

Colonel Roosevelt by his example and fearlessness inspired his men, and both at Kettle Hill and the ridge known as San Juan, he led his command in person. I was an eye witness of Colonel Roosevelt's action.

As Colonel Roosevelt has left the service, a brevet commission is of no particular value in his case.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL S. SUMNER,
Major-General, U. S. V.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

SANTIAGO DE CUBA, *December 30, 1898.*

To the Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.

SIR:

I have the honor to make the following statement relative to the conduct of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, late First U. S. Volunteer Cavalry, during the assault upon San Juan Hill, July 1, 1898.

I have already recommended this officer for a Medal of Honor, which, I understand has been denied him, upon the ground that my previous letter was too indefinite. I based my recommendation upon the fact that Colonel Roosevelt, accompanied only by four or five men, led a very desperate and extremely gallant charge on San Juan Hill, thereby setting a splendid example to the troops and encouraging them to pass over the open country intervening between their position and the trenches of the enemy. In leading this charge, he started off first, as he supposed, with quite a following of men, but soon discovered that he was alone. He then returned and gathered up a few men and led them to the charge as above stated. The charge in itself was an extremely gallant one, and the example set a most inspiring one to the troops in that part of the line, and while it is perfectly true that every-

body finally went up the hill in good style, yet there is no doubt that the magnificent example set by Colonel Roosevelt had a very encouraging effect and had great weight in bringing up the troops behind him. During the assault, Colonel Roosevelt was the first to reach the trenches in his part of the line and killed one of the enemy with his own hand.

I earnestly recommend that the medal be conferred upon Colonel Roosevelt, for I believe that he in every way deserves it, and that his services on the day in question were of great value and of a most distinguished character.

Very respectfully,

LEONARD WOOD,

Major-General, U. S. V., Commanding Department of Santiago de Cuba.

HEADQUARTERS, U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY.

WEST POINT, N. Y., April 5, 1899.

*Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Carter, Assistant Adjutant-General,
U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.*

SIR:

* * * * *

My duties on July 1, 1898, brought me in constant observation of and contact with Colonel Roosevelt from early morning until shortly before the climax of the assault of the Cavalry Division on the San Juan Hill—the so-called Kettle Hill. During this time, while under the enemy's artillery fire at El Poso and while on the march from El Poso by the San Juan ford to the point from which his regiment moved to the assault—about two miles, the greater part under fire—Colonel Roosevelt was conspicuous above any others I observed in his regiment in the zealous performance of duty, in total disregard of his personal danger and in his eagerness to meet the enemy. At El Poso, when the enemy opened on that place with artillery fire, a shrapnel bullet grazed and bruised one of Colonel Roosevelt's wrists. The incident did not lessen his hazardous exposure.

but he continued so exposed until he had placed his command under cover. In moving to the assault of San Juan Hill, Colonel Roosevelt was most conspicuously brave, gallant and indifferent to his own safety. He, in the open, led his regiment; no officer could have set a more striking example to his men or displayed greater intrepidity.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. L. MILLS,

Colonel, U. S. Army, Superintendent.

YOUNG ISLAND, S. C., December 28, 1898.

To the Adjutant-General, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

SIR:

Believing that information relating to superior conduct on the part of any of the higher officers who participated in the Spanish-American War (and which information may not have been given) would be appreciated by the Department over which you preside, I have the honor to call your attention to the part borne by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt of the late 1st U. S. Vol. Cav., in the battle of July 1 last. I do this not only because I think you ought to know, but because his regiment as a whole were very proud of his splendid actions that day and believe they call for the most coveted distinction of the American officer, the Medal of Honor. Held in support, he brought his regiment, at exactly the right time, not only up to the line of regulars, but went through them and headed, on horseback, the charge on Kettle Hill; this being done on his own initiative, the regulars as well as his own men following. He then headed the charge on the next hill, both regulars and the 1st U. S. Vol. Cav. following. He was so near the entrenchments on the second hill, that he shot and killed with a revolver one of the enemy before they broke completely. He then led the cavalry on the chain of hills overlooking Santiago, where he remained in charge of all the cavalry that was at the extreme front for the rest of that day and night.

His unhesitating gallantry in taking the initiative against entrenchments lined by men armed with rapid fire guns certainly won him the highest consideration and admiration of all who witnessed his conduct throughout that day.

What I here write I can bear witness to from personally having seen.

Very respectfully,

M. J. JENKINS,
Major, late 1st U. S. Vol. Cav.

WEST POINT, N. Y., *December 17, 1898.*

The Adjutant-General, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

SIR:

I have the honor to recommend that a "Congressional Medal of Honor" be given to Theodore Roosevelt, (late) Colonel, First Volunteer Cavalry, for distinguished conduct and conspicuous bravery, while in command of his regiment and in leading it in the charge on San Juan Hill, Cuba, July 1, 1898. In compliance with G. O. 135, 1898, I enclose my certificate, showing my personal knowledge of Colonel Roosevelt's conduct.

Very respectfully,

ROBT. L. HOWZE.
Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General, U. S. V. (1st Lieutenant, 6th U. S. Cavalry).

WEST POINT, N. Y., *December 17, 1898.*

I hereby certify that on July 1, 1898, Colonel (then Lieutenant-Colonel) Theodore Roosevelt, First Volunteer Cavalry, distinguished himself throughout the action, and on two occasions during the battle when I was an eye witness, his conduct was most conspicuous and clearly distinguished above other men, as follows:

I. At the base of the San Juan, or first hill, there was a strong wire fence, or entanglement, at which the line hesitated

under a galling fire, and where the losses were severe. Colonel Roosevelt jumped through the fence and by his enthusiasm, his example and courage succeeded in leading to the crest of the hill a line sufficiently strong to capture it. In this charge the Cavalry Division suffered its greatest loss, and the Colonel's life was placed in extreme jeopardy, owing to the conspicuous position he took in leading the line, and being the first to reach the crest of that hill, while under heavy fire of the enemy at close range.

II. At the extreme advanced position occupied by our lines, Colonel Roosevelt found himself the senior and under instructions from General Sumner to hold that position. He displayed the greatest bravery and placed his life in extreme jeopardy by unavoidable exposure to severe fire while adjusting and strengthening the line, placing the men in positions which afforded best protection, etc. His conduct and example steadied the men and on one occasion by severe, but necessary measures, prevented a small detachment from stampeding to the rear.

He displayed the most conspicuous gallantry, courage and coolness in performing extraordinarily hazardous duty.

ROBT. L. HOWZE.

Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General, U. S. V. (First Lieutenant, 6th U. S. Cavalry).

FORT SAM HOUSTON.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., *January 17, 1899.*

Adjutant-General, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

SIR:

I have the honor to certify that I accompanied Colonel Theodore Roosevelt during the engagements of our troops with the Spaniards at Las Guasimas and at San Juan Hill.

At San Juan Hill, July 1, 1898, Colonel Roosevelt (M't'd) marched his regiment out of a sunken road, where he had been ordered earlier in the day, toward the hill—in doing so it was

necessary to pass through a regular regiment who were lying at the foot of the hill awaiting orders. Arriving there Colonel Roosevelt, upon his own initiative, ordered and led the charge up the hill—he there collected as quickly as possible as many men as he could irrespective of regiments and led and won the final charge.

During the night attack of July 2 Colonel Roosevelt showed conspicuous bravery in walking up and down the line of trenches commanding and cautioning his men under a most galling fire and in great peril of his life.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

MAXWELL KEYES,

Late First Lieutenant and Adjutant, 1st U. S. Vol. Cav.

HUNTSVILLE, ALA., January 4, 1899.

The Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.

SIR:

I have the honor to recommend that a "Congressional Medal of Honor" be given to Theodore Roosevelt (late Colonel 1st Vol. Cav.), for distinguished conduct and conspicuous bravery in command of his regiment in the charge on San Juan Hill, Cuba, July 1, 1898.

In compliance with G. O. 135, A. G. O., 1898, I inclose my certificate showing my personal knowledge of Colonel Roosevelt's conduct.

Very respectfully,

C. J. STEVENS,

Captain, 2d Cavalry.

I hereby certify that on July 1, 1898, at the battle of San Juan, Cuba, I witnessed Colonel (then Lieutenant-Colonel) Theodore Roosevelt, 1st Vol. Cavalry, U. S. A., mounted, leading his regiment to the charge on San Juan. By his gallantry and strong personality he contributed most materially to the success of the charge of the Cavalry Division up San Juan Hill.

Colonel Roosevelt was among the very first to reach the crest of the hill, and his dashing example, his absolute fearlessness and gallant leading rendered his conduct conspicuous and clearly distinguished above other men.

C. J. STEVENS,

Captain, 2d Cavalry (late First Lieutenant, 9th Cav.)

Under the methods of awarding Medals of Honor in the Civil War this record would have been accepted as meeting every requirement. There are scores and scores on the medal list of that war whose specific deeds did not measure up to that high standard which the official record of Colonel Roosevelt discloses. But the orders under which the Medal Board for the War with Spain acted were of an extremely restrictive character, so much so, as to class many acts for which medals were formerly awarded as the ordinary duty of an officer. Bound by these restrictions of the orders under which they acted, the Board of Medals and Brevets recommended that Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt should receive a brevet as Colonel for Las Guasimas, and at a later session, recommended the brevets of Colonel and Brigadier-General for the battle of San Juan. Under the restrictions named these brevets took rank above great numbers of the medals of honor of the Civil War.

What

Roosevelt

Says

(From the Congressional Record)

Washington, D. C.

1904

1893

1893

1893

What Roosevelt Says.

ABOUT THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Our aim should be to preserve the policy of a protective tariff, in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced, and yet wherever and whenever necessary to change the duties in particular paragraphs or schedules as matters of legislative detail, if such change is demanded by the interests of the nation as a whole. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad; in other words, the recognition of the need for full development of the intelligence, the comfort, the high standard of civilized living, and the inventive genius of the American workingman as compared to the workingman of any other country in the world. (New York, November 11, 1902.)

At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages—that is, in his standard of living—and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. (Logansport, Ind., September, 1902.)

A nation like ours can adjust its business after a fashion to any kind of tariff. But neither our nation nor any other can stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals. (Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

If a tariff law has on the whole worked well and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

The real evils connected with the trusts can not be remedied by any change in the tariff laws. The trusts can be damaged by depriving them of the benefits of a protective tariff only on condition of damaging all their smaller competitors and all the wage-workers employed in the industry. (Cincinnati, September 20, 1902.)

The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable; and its benefits

can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 7, 1903.)

There is general acquiescence in our present tariff system as a national policy. The first requisite to our prosperity is the continuity and stability of this economic policy. Nothing could be more unwise than to disturb the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time. Doubt, apprehension, uncertainty are exactly what we most wish to avoid in the interest of our commercial and material well-being.

Our experience in the past has shown that sweeping revisions of the tariff are apt to produce conditions closely approaching panic in the business world. Yet it is not only possible, but eminently desirable, to combine with the stability of our economic system a supplementary system of reciprocal benefit and obligation with other nations. Such reciprocity is an incident and result of the firm establishment and preservation of our present economic policy. It was specially provided for in the present tariff law.

Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Just how far this is must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

Now, whether a protective tariff is right or wrong may be open to question; but if it exists at all, it should work as simply and with as much certainty and exactitude as possible; if its interpretation varies, or if it is continually meddled with by Congress, great damage ensues. It is in reality of far less importance that a law should be ideally right than that it should be certain and steady in its workings. Even supposing that a high tariff is all wrong, it would work infinitely better for the country than would a series of changes between high and low duties. (Life of Benton, p. 224.)

The upshot of all this is that it is peculiarly incumbent upon us in a time of such material well-being, both collectively as a nation and individually as citizens, to show, each on his own account, that we possess the qualities of prudence, self-knowledge and self-

restraint. In our Government we need above all things stability, fixity of economic policy. (Speech at Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

GOLD AS THE STANDARD.

The Act of March 14, 1900, intended unequivocally to establish gold as the standard money and to maintain at a parity therewith all forms of money medium in use with us, has been shown to be timely and judicious. The price of our government bonds in the world's market, when compared with the price of similar obligations issued by other nations, is a flattering tribute to our public credit. This condition it is evidently desirable to maintain. (President's annual message, December 3, 1901.)

It would be both unwise and unnecessary at this time to attempt to reconstruct our financial system, which has been the growth of a century; but some additional legislation is, I think, desirable. The mere outline of any plan sufficiently comprehensive to meet these requirements would transgress the appropriate limits of this communication. It is suggested, however, that all future legislation on the subject should be with the view of encouraging the use of such instrumentalities as will automatically supply every legitimate demand of productive industries and of commerce, not only in the amount, but in the character of circulation; and of making all kinds of money interchangeable, and, at the will of the holder, convertible into the established gold standard. (President's annual message, December 2, 1902.)

The integrity of our currency is beyond question, and under present conditions it would be unwise and unnecessary to attempt a reconstruction of our monetary system. The same liberty should be granted the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit customs receipts as is granted him in the deposit of receipts from other sources. In my message of December 2, 1902, I called attention to certain needs of the financial situation, and I again ask the consideration of the Congress for these questions. (President's annual message, December 7, 1903.)

In other words, legislation to be permanently good for any class must also be good for the nation as a whole, and legislation which does injustice to any class is certain to work harm to the nation. Take our currency system for example. This nation is on a gold basis. The Treasury of the public is in excellent condition. Never before has the per capita of circulation been as large as it is this

day; and this circulation, moreover, is of money every dollar of which is at par with gold. Now, our having this sound currency system is of benefit to banks, of course, but it is of infinitely more benefit to the people as a whole, because of healthy effect on business conditions.

In the same way, whatever is advisable in the way of remedial or corrective currency legislation—and nothing revolutionary is advisable under present conditions—must be undertaken only from the standpoint of the business community as a whole; that is, of the American body politic as a whole. Whatever is done, we can not afford to take any step backward or to cast any doubt upon the certain redemption in standard coin of every circulating note. (Address of President Roosevelt at the State fair, Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

ABOUT LABOR AND CAPITAL.

Supremacy of the Law.

This is an era of great combinations both of labor and of capital. In many ways these combinations have worked for good, but they must work under the law, and the laws concerning them must be just and wise or they will inevitably do evil; and this implies as much to the richest corporation as to the most powerful labor union.

Our laws must be wise, sane, healthy, conceived in the spirit of those who scorn the mere agitator, the mere inciter of class or sectional hatred; who wish justice for all men; who recognize the need of adhering so far as possible to the old American doctrine of giving the widest possible scope for the free exercise of individual initiative, and yet who recognize also that after combinations have reached a certain stage it is indispensable to the general welfare that the nation should exercise over them, cautiously and with self-restraint, but firmly, the power of supervision and regulation. (Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

The man who by the use of his capital develops a great mine; the man who by the use of his capital builds a great railroad; the man who by the use of his capital, either individually or joined with others like him, does any great legitimate business enterprise, confers a benefit, not a harm, upon the community, and is entitled to be so regarded. He is entitled to the protection of the law, and in return he is to be required himself to obey the law. The law is no respecter of persons. The law is to be administered neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such. It is to be

administered for every man, rich or poor, if he is an honest and law-abiding citizen; and it is to be invoked against any man, rich or poor, who violates it, without regard to which end of the social scale he may stand at; without regard to whether his offense takes the form of greed and cunning or the form of physical violence. In either case, if he violates the law, the law is to be invoked against him; and in so invoking it I have the right to challenge the support of all good citizens and to demand the acquiescence of every good man. I hope I will have it; but, once for all, I wish it understood that even if I do not have it I shall enforce the law. (Speech at Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903.)

We have the right to ask every decent American citizen to rally to the support of the law if it is ever broken against the interest of the rich man; and we have the same right to ask that rich man cheerfully and gladly to acquiesce in the enforcement against his seeming interest of the law, if it is the law. Incidentally, whether he acquiesces or not, the law will be enforced, and this whoever he may be, great or small, and at whichever end of the social scale he may be. (Spokane, Wash., May 26, 1903.)

This is not and never shall be a government of a plutocracy; it is not and never shall be a government by a mob. It is, as it has been and as it will be, a government in which every honest man, every decent man, be he employer or employed, wage-worker, mechanic, banker, lawyer, farmer, be he who he may, if he acts squarely and fairly, if he does his duty by his neighbor and the State, receives the full protection of the law and is given the amplest chance to exercise the ability that there is within him, alone or in combination with his fellows, as he desires. (Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903.)

Above all, the administration of the government, the enforcement of the laws, must be fair and honest. The laws are not to be administered either in the interest of the poor man or the interest of the rich man. They are simply to be administered justly—in the interest of justice to each man, be he rich or be he poor—giving immunity to no violator, whatever form the violation may assume. Such is the obligation which every public servant takes, and to it he must be true under penalty of forfeiting the respect both of himself and of his fellows. (Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

Least of all can the man of great wealth afford to break the law, even for his own financial advantage; for the law is his prop and support, and it is both foolish and profoundly unpatriotic for him to fail in giving hearty support to those who show that there is in very

fact one law, and one law only, alike for the rich and the poor, for the great and the small. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Corporations that are handled honestly and fairly, so far from being an evil, are a natural business evolution and make for the general prosperity of our land. We do not wish to destroy corporations, but we do wish to make them subserve the public good. All individuals, rich or poor, private or corporate, must be subject to the law of the land, and the Government will hold them to a rigid obedience thereto. The biggest corporation, like the humblest private citizen, must be held to strict compliance with the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. The rich man who does not see that this is in his interest is indeed shortsighted. When we make him obey the law we insure for him the absolute protection of the law. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The Need for Caution.

Modern industrial competition is very keen between nation and nation, and now that our country is striding forward with the pace of a giant to take the leading position in the international industrial world, we should beware how we fetter our limbs, how we cramp our titan strength. While striving to prevent industrial injustice at home we must not bring upon ourselves industrial weakness abroad. This is a task for which we need the finest abilities of the statesman, the student, the patriot, and the farseeing lover of mankind. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

The mechanism of modern business is tremendous in its size and complexity, and ignorant intermeddling with it would be disastrous. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The mechanism of modern business is altogether too delicate and too complicated for us to sanction for one moment any intermeddling with it in a spirit of ignorance, above all in a spirit of rancor. Something can be done, something is being done now. Much more can be done if our people resolutely but temperately will that it shall be done. But the certain way of bringing great harm upon ourselves, without in any way furthering the solution of the problem, but, on the contrary, deferring indefinitely its proper solution, would be to act in a spirit of ignorance, of violence, of rancor, in a spirit which would make us tear down the temple of industry in which we live because we are not satisfied with some of the details of its management. (Fitchburg, Mass., September 2, 1902.)

As a nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant inter-

national industrial competition of the day. We can not afford by any freak or folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

Labor and Capital Have Common Interests.

We are no more against organizations of capital than against organizations of labor. We welcome both, demanding only that each shall do right and shall remember its duty to the Republic. (Milwaukee, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do about what is right, but that his average fellow-countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, or wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others; that each is neighbor to the other, is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults. Our average fellow-citizen is a sane and healthy man, who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. He therefore feels an equal scorn alike for the man of wealth guilty of the mean and base spirit of arrogance toward those who are less well off, and for the man of small means who in his turn either feels or seeks to excite in others the feeling of mean and base envy for those who are better off. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Under present-day conditions it is as necessary to have corporations in the business world as it is to have organizations—unions—among wage-workers. We have a right to ask in each case only this: that good, and not harm, shall follow. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

There is no worse enemy of the wage-worker than the man who condones mob violence in any shape, or who preaches class hatred; and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most shortsighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant, and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments, are exactly the times of hardship and want and grim disaster among the poor. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

You must face the fact that only harm will come from a proposition to attack the so-called trusts in a vindictive spirit by measures conceived solely with a desire of hurting them, without regard as to whether or not discrimination should be made between the good and

evil in them, and without even any regard as to whether a necessary sequence of the action would be the hurting of other interests. The adoption of such a policy would mean temporary damage to the trusts, because it would mean temporary damage to all of our business interests; but the effect would be only temporary, for exactly as the damage affected all alike, good and bad, so the reaction would affect all alike, good and bad. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The upshot of all this is that it is peculiarly incumbent upon us in a time of such material well-being, both collectively as a nation and individually as citizens, to show, each on his own account, that we possess the qualities of prudence, self-knowledge, and self-restraint. In our Government we need above all things stability, fixity of economic policy, while remembering that this fixity must not be fossilization; that there must not be inability to shift our laws so as to meet our shifting national needs. There are real and great evils in our social and economic life, and these evils stand out in all their ugly baldness in time of prosperity, for the wicked who prosper are never a pleasant sight. There is every need of striving in all possible ways, individually and collectively, by combinations among ourselves and through the recognized government agencies, to cut out those evils. All I ask is to be sure that we do not use the knife with an ignorant zeal which would make it more dangerous to the patient than to the disease. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

It would be neither just nor expedient to punish the big corporations as big corporations; what we wish to do is to protect the people from any evil that may grow out of their existence or maladministration. (Cincinnati, September 20, 1902.)

Above all, let us remember that our success in accomplishing anything depends very much upon our not trying to accomplish everything. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

Very much of our effort in reference to labor matters should be by every device and expedient to try to secure a constantly better understanding between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between them, and every chance taken to allow each to look at all questions, especially at questions in dispute, somewhat through the other's eyes. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

Every man who has made wealth or used it in developing great legitimate business enterprises has been of benefit and not harm to the country at large. (Spokane, Wash., May 26, 1903.)

It is foolish to pride ourselves upon our progress and prosperity, upon our commanding position in the international world, and at the same time have nothing but denunciation for the men to whose commanding position we in part owe this very progress and prosperity. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The foundation of our whole social structure rests upon the material and moral well-being, the intelligence, the foresight, the sanity, the sense of duty, and the wholesome patriotism of the wage-worker. (Address at Labor Day picnic, Chicago, September 3, 1900.)

I am President of all the people of the United States, without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation, or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact justice as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the Government service I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union as being for or against him than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him. (Statement to executive council American Federation of Labor, September 29, 1903.)

There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire; but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce. (Letter to Secretary Cortelyou, July 13, 1903.)

Where possible, it is always better to mediate before the strike begins than to try to arbitrate when the fight is on and both sides have grown stubborn and bitter. (Address at Labor Day picnic, Chicago, September 3, 1900.)

Wise factory laws—laws to forbid the employment of child labor and to safeguard the employees against the effects of culpable negligence by the employer—are necessary, not merely in the interest of the wage-worker, but in the interest of the honest and humane employer. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

THE FARMER A TRUE AMERICAN TYPE.

It remains true now as it always has been, that in the last resort the country districts are those in which we are surest to find the old American spirit, the old American habits of thought and ways of living. Conditions have changed in the country far less than they have changed in the cities, and in consequence there has been little breaking away from the methods of life which have produced the great majority of the leaders of the Republic in the past. Almost

all of our great Presidents have been brought up in the country, and most of them worked hard on the farms in their youth and got their early mental training in the healthy democracy of farm life. (Speech at Bangor, Me., August 27, 1902.)

The countryman—the man on the farm, more than any other of our citizens to-day, is called upon continually to exercise the qualities which we like to think of as typical of the United States throughout its history—the qualities of rugged independence, masterful resolution, and individual energy and resourcefulness. He works hard (for which no man is to be pitied), and often he lives hard (which may not be pleasant); but his life is passed in healthy surroundings, surroundings which tend to develop a fine type of citizenship. In the country, moreover, the conditions are fortunately such as to allow a closer touch between man and man than, too often, we find to be the case in the city. Men feel more vividly the underlying sense of brotherhood, of community of interest. (Bangor, Me., August 27, 1902.)

The man who tills his own farm, whether on the prairie or in the woodland, the man who grows what we eat and the raw material which is worked up into what we wear, still exists more nearly under the conditions which obtained when the "embattled farmers" of '76 made this country a nation than is true of any others of our people. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

The true welfare of the nation is indissolubly bound up with the welfare of the farmer and the wage-worker—of the man who tills the soil, and of the mechanic, the handicraftsman, the laborer. If we can insure the prosperity of these two classes we need not trouble ourselves about the prosperity of the rest, for that will follow as a matter of course. (Speech at opening of the Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

The success of the capitalist, and especially of the banker, is conditioned upon the prosperity of both workingman and farmer. (The Law of Civilization and Decay—American Ideals, p. 367.)

In a country like ours it is fundamentally true that the well-being of the tiller of the soil and the wage-worker is the well-being of the State. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

ABOUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

The Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe doctrine is simply a statement of our very firm belief that on this continent the nations now existing here must be

left to work out their own destinies among themselves, and that the continent is not longer to be regarded as colonizing ground for any European power. (Speech at Augusta, Me., August 26, 1902.)

We of the two Americas must be left to work out our own salvation along our own lines; and if we are wise we will make it understood as a cardinal feature of our joint foreign policy that on the one hand we will not submit to territorial aggrandizement on this continent by any Old World power, and that on the other hand, among ourselves, each nation must scrupulously regard the rights and interests of the others, so that, instead of any one of us committing the criminal folly of trying to rise at the expense of our neighbors, we shall all strive upward in honest and manly brotherhood, shoulder to shoulder. (Speech at opening of the Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

It is for the interest of every commonwealth in the Western Hemisphere to see every other commonwealth grow in riches and in happiness, in material wealth, and in the sober, strong, self-respecting manliness without which material wealth avails so little. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

I believe in the Monroe doctrine with all my heart and soul; I am convinced that the immense majority of our fellow-countrymen so believe in it; but I would infinitely prefer to see us abandon it than to see us put it forward and bluster about it, and yet fail to build up the efficient fighting strength which in the last resort can alone make it respected by any strong foreign power whose interest it may ever happen to be to violate it. (Washington, D. C., November 13, 1902.)

I believe in the Monroe doctrine. I shall try to see that this nation lives up to it, and as long as I am President it will be lived up to. But I do not intend to make the doctrine an excuse or a justification for being unpleasant to other powers, for speaking ill of other powers. We want the friendship of mankind. We want to get on well with the other nations of mankind, with the small nations and with the big nations. We want so to carry ourselves that if—which I think most unlikely—any quarrel should arise, it would be evident that it was not a quarrel of our own seeking, but one that was forced on us. If it is forced on us, I know you too well not to know that you will stand up to it if the need comes; but you will stand up to it all the better if you have not blustered or spoken ill of other nations in advance. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

When a question of national honor or of national right or wrong is at stake, no question of financial interest should be considered for

a moment. Those wealthy men who wish the abandonment of the Monroe doctrine because its assertion may damage their business bring discredit to themselves, and, so far as they are able, discredit to the nation of which they are a part. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 260.)

We do not wish to bring ourselves to a position where we shall have to emulate the European system of enormous armies. Every true patriot, every man of statesmanlike habit, should look forward to the day when not a single European power will hold a foot on American soil. At present it is not necessary to take the position that no European power shall hold American territory, but it certainly will become necessary if the timid and selfish "peace at any price" men have their way, and if the United States fails to check at the outset European aggrandizement on this continent. (Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 252.)

The United States has not the slightest wish to establish a universal protectorate over other American States, or to become responsible for their misdeeds. If one of them becomes involved in an ordinary quarrel with a European power, such quarrel must be settled between them by any one of the usual methods. But no European State is to be allowed to aggrandize itself on American soil at the expense of any American State. Furthermore, no transfer of an American colony from one European State to another is to be permitted, if, in the judgment of the United States, such transfer would be hostile to its own interests. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 248.)

The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that "the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

In other words, the Monroe doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

If the Monroe doctrine did not already exist it would be neces-

sary forthwith to create it. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 246.)

The Monroe doctrine is not a question of law at all. It is a question of policy. It is a question to be considered not only by statesmen, but by all good citizens. Lawyers, as lawyers, have absolutely nothing whatever to say about it. To argue that it can not be recognized as a principle of international law, is a mere waste of breath. Nobody cares whether it is or is not so recognized, any more than any one cares whether the Declaration of Independence and Washington's Farewell Address are so recognized. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 248.)

The Navy a Guaranty of Peace.

We need to keep in a condition of preparedness, especially as regards our Navy, not because we want war, but because we desire to stand with those whose plea for peace is listened to with respectful attention. (New York, November 11, 1902.)

Unreadiness for war is merely rendered more disastrous by readiness to bluster; to talk defiance and advocate a vigorous policy in words, while refusing to back up these words by deeds is cause for humiliation. It has always been true, and in this age it is more than ever true, that it is too late to prepare for war when the time for peace has passed. The shortsightedness of many people, the good-humored indifference to facts of others, the sheer ignorance of a vast number, and the selfish reluctance to insure against future danger by present sacrifice among yet others—these are the chief obstacles to building up a proper navy and carrying out a proper foreign policy. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 274.)

A nation should never fight unless forced to; but it should always be ready to fight. The mere fact that it is ready will generally spare it the necessity of fighting. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 284.)

The American people must either build and maintain an adequate navy or else make up their minds definitely to accept a secondary position in international affairs, not merely in political, but in commercial matters. It has been well said that there is no surer way of courting national disaster than to be "opulent, aggressive and unarmed." (Annual message, first session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

There never is and never has been on our part a desire to use

a weapon because of its being well tempered. There is not the least danger that the possession of a good navy will render this country overbearing toward its neighbors. The direct contrary is the truth. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 284.)

We ask for a great navy, we ask for an armament fit for the nation's needs, not primarily to fight, but to avert fighting. Preparedness deters the foe and maintains right by the show of ready might without the use of violence. Peace, like freedom, is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards or of those too feeble or too shortsighted to deserve it, and we ask to be given the means to insure that honorable peace which alone is worth having. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 288.)

So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly trained navy is the best guaranty against war, the cheapest and most effective peace insurance. The cost of building and maintaining such a navy represents the very lightest premium for insuring peace which this nation can possibly pay. (Annual message, first session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

If in the first decade of the present century the American people and their rulers had possessed the wisdom to provide an efficient fleet of powerful battleships, there would probably have been no war of 1812; and even if war had come, the immense loss to and destruction of trade and commerce by the blockade would have been prevented. Merely from the monetary standpoint the saving would have been incalculable; and yet this would have been the smallest part of the gain. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 278.)

In public as in private life, a bold front tends to insure peace and not strife. If we possess a formidable navy, small is the chance indeed that we shall ever be dragged into a war to uphold the Monroe doctrine. If we do not possess such a navy, war may be forced on us at any time. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 281.)

In all our history there has never been a time when preparedness for war was any menace to peace. On the contrary, again and again we have owed peace to the fact that we were prepared for war, and in the only contest which we have had with a European power since the Revolution—the war of 1812—the struggle and all its attendant disasters were due solely to the fact that we were not prepared to face, and were not ready instantly to resent, an attack upon our honor and interest, while the glorious triumphs at sea

which redeemed that war were due to the few preparations which we had actually made. We are a great, peaceful nation—a nation of merchants and manufacturers, of farmers and mechanics; a nation of workingmen who labor incessantly with head or hand. It is idle to talk of such a nation ever being led into a course of wanton aggression or conflict with military powers by the possession of a sufficient navy. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 266.)

Any really great nation must be peculiarly sensitive to two things—stain on the national honor at home and disgrace to the national arms abroad. Our honor at home, our honor in domestic and internal affairs, is at all times in our own keeping, and depends simply upon the possession of an awakened public conscience. But the only way to make safe our honor, as affected not by our own deeds but by the deeds of others, is by readiness in advance. (Haverhill, Mass., August 26, 1902.)

Arbitration.

As civilization grows warfare becomes less and less the normal condition of foreign relations. The last century has seen a marked diminution of wars between civilized powers; wars with uncivilized powers are largely mere matters of international police duty, essential for the welfare of the world. Wherever possible arbitration or some similar method should be employed in lieu of war to settle difficulties between civilized nations, although as yet the world has not progressed sufficiently to render it possible, or necessarily desirable, to invoke arbitration in every case. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session.)

The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace, and this nation most earnestly desires sincere and cordial friendship with all others. Over the entire world of recent years wars between the great civilized powers have become less and less frequent. Wars with barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples come into an entirely different category, being merely a most regrettable but necessary international police duty which must be performed for the sake of the welfare of mankind.

Peace can only be kept with certainty where both sides wish to keep it; but more and more the civilized peoples are realizing the wicked folly of war and are attaining that condition of just and intelligent regard for the rights of others which will in the end, as

we hope and believe, make world-wide peace possible. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

There seems good ground for the belief that there has been a real growth among the civilized nations of a sentiment which will permit a gradual substitution of other methods than the method of war in the settlement of disputes. It is not pretended that as yet we are near a position in which it will be possible wholly to prevent war, or that a just regard for national interest and honor will in all cases permit of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; but by a mixture of prudence and firmness with wisdom we think it is possible to do away with much of the provocation and excuse for war, and at least in many cases to substitute some other and more rational method for the settlement of disputes. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

International Courtesy.

We want friendship; we want peace. We wish well to the nations of mankind. We look with joy at any prosperity of theirs; we wish them success, not failure. We rejoice as mankind moves forward over the whole earth. Each nation has its own difficulties. We have difficulties enough at home. Let us improve ourselves, lifting what needs to be lifted here, and let others do their own work; let us attend to our own business; keep our own hearthstone swept and in order. Do not shirk any duty; do not shirk any difficulty that is forced upon us, but do not invite it by foolish language. Do not assume a quarrelsome and unpleasant attitude toward other people. Let the friendly expressions of foreign powers be accepted as tokens of their sincere good will and reflecting their real sentiments, and let us avoid any language on our part which might tend to turn their good will into ill will. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

Boasting and blustering are as objectionable among nations as among individuals, and the public men of a great nation owe it to their sense of national self-respect to speak courteously of foreign powers, just as a brave and self-respecting man treats all around him courteously. (Washington, D. C., November 13, 1902.)

I would like to impress upon every public man, upon every writer in the press, the fact that strength should go hand in hand with courtesy, with scrupulous regard in word and deed, not only for the rights, but for the feelings, of other nations. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

It is a good lesson for nations and individuals to learn never to

hit if it can be helped, and then never to hit softly. I think it is getting to be fairly understood that that is our foreign policy. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

The duties of peace are with us always; those of war are but occasional; and with a nation as with a man, the worthiness of life depends upon the way in which the every-day duties are done. The home duties are the vital duties. (Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

The period of war is but a fractional part of the life of our Republic, and I earnestly hope and believe that it will be an even smaller part in the future than it has been in the past. (Chattanooga, Tenn., September 8, 1902.)

We all of us earnestly hope that the occasion for war may not arise, but if it has to come then this nation must win. (Annapolis, Md., May 2, 1902.)

The American flag stands for orderly liberty, and it stands for it abroad as it stands for it at home. (Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

Of course, the very first thing that any nation has to do is to keep in order the affairs of its own household; to do that which is best for its own life. (New York, May 20, 1902.)

The army never has been and, I am sure, it never will be or can be a menace to anybody save America's foes, or aught but a source of pride to every good and far-sighted American. (The Presidency, p. 10.)

Again and again in a nation's history the time may, and, indeed, sometimes must, come when the nation's highest duty is war. But peace must be the normal condition, or the nation will come to a bloody doom. Twice in great crises, in 1776 and 1861, and twice in lesser crises, in 1812 and 1898, the nation was called to arms in the name of all that makes the words "honor," "freedom" and "justice" other than empty sounds. On each occasion the net result of the war was greatly for the benefit of mankind. But on each occasion this net result was of benefit only because after the war came peace, came justice and order and liberty. (Speech at Galena, Ill., on Grant's birthday, April 27, 1900.)

ABOUT EXPANSION AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The inevitable march of events gave us the control of the Philippine Islands at a time so opportune that it may without irreverence be called providential. Unless we show ourselves weak, unless we

show ourselves degenerate sons of the sires from whose loins we sprang, we must go on with the work we have undertaken. I most earnestly hope that this work will ever be of a peaceful character. (Speech at San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

If we are wise, if we care for our reputation abroad, if we are sensitive of our honor at home, we will allow no question of partisan politics ever to enter into the administration of the great islands which came under our flag as a result of the war with Spain. (Speech at Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

If we do our duty aright in the Philippines, we will add to that national renown which is the highest and finest part of national life, we will greatly benefit the people of the Philippine Islands, and, above all, we will play our part well in the great work of uplifting mankind. (*Strenuous Life*, p. 20.)

Fundamentally the cause of expansion is the cause of peace. ("Expansion and peace," *Strenuous Life*, p. 34.)

The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a mediæval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work. (*Strenuous Life*, p. 11.)

Our greatest statesmen have always been those who believed in the nation—who had faith in the power of our people to spread until they should become the mightiest among the peoples of the world. ("Manhood and statehood," *Strenuous Life*, p. 205.)

In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundredfold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and we hope ultimately a self-governing people. In short, in the work we have done we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. We work in a spirit of self-respect for ourselves and of good will toward others, in a spirit of love for and of infinite faith in mankind. We do not blindly refuse to face the evils that exist or the shortcomings inherent in humanity; but across blundering and shirking, across selfishness and meanness of motive, across shortsightedness and coward-

ice we gaze steadfastly toward the far horizon of golden triumph. ("National duties," *Strenuous Life*, p. 243.)

Our warfare in the Philippines has been carried on with singular humanity. For every act of cruelty by our men there have been innumerable acts of forbearance, magnanimity, and generous kindness. These are the qualities which have characterized the war as a whole. (Memorial Day address at Arlington, May 30, 1902.)

The progress of the American arms means the abolition of cruelty, the bringing of peace, and the rule of law and order under the civil government. Other nations have conquered to create irresponsible military rule. We conquer to bring just and responsible civil government to the conquered. (Memorial Day address at Arlington, May 30, 1902.)

Taking the work of the army and the civil authorities together, it may be questioned whether anywhere else in modern times the world has seen a better example of real constructive statesmanship than our people have given in the Philippine Islands. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

No policy ever entered into by the American people has vindicated itself in more signal manner than the policy of holding the Philippines. The triumph of our arms, above all the triumph of our laws and principles, has come sooner than we had any right to expect. Too much praise cannot be given to the army for what it has done in the Philippines both in warfare and from an administrative standpoint in preparing the way for civil government; and similar credit belongs to the civil authorities for the way in which they have planted the seeds of self-government in the ground thus made ready for them. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

In dealing with the Philippine people we must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution. Our aim is high. We do not desire to do for the islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments. We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations. (Annual Message, first session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

I have felt that the events of the last five or six years have been steadily hastening the day when the Pacific will loom in the world's commerce as the Atlantic now looms, and I have wished greatly to see these marvelous communities growing up on the Pacific slope. (Barstow, Cal., May 7, 1903.)

Our place as a nation is and must be with the nations that have left indelibly their impress on the centuries. Men will tell you that the great expanding nations of antiquity have passed away. So they have; and so have all others. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

The insurrection among the Filipinos has been absolutely quelled. The war has been brought to an end sooner than even the most sanguine of us dared to hope. The world has not in recent years seen any military task done with more soldierly energy and ability; and done, moreover, in a spirit of great humanity. (Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902.)

The empire that shifted from the Mediterranean will in the lifetime of those now children bid fair to shift once more westward to the Pacific. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

In short, we are governing the Filipinos primarily in their interest and for their very great benefit. And we have acted in practical fashion—not trying to lay down rules as to what should be done in the remote and uncertain future, but turning our attention to the instant need of things and meeting that need in the fullest and amplest way. * * * It would be hard to find in modern times a better example of successful constructive statesmanship than the American representatives have given to the Philippine Islands. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

There is no question as to our having gone far enough and fast enough in granting self-government to the Filipinos; the only possible danger has been lest we should go faster and further than was in the interest of the Filipinos themselves. (Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

It is natural that most nations should be thus blind to the possibilities of the future. Few indeed are the men who can look a score of years into the future, and fewer still those who will make great sacrifices for the real, not the fancied, good of their children's children; but in questions of race supremacy the look ahead should be for centuries rather than decades, and the self-sacrifice of the individual must be for the good, not of the next generation, but perchance of the fourth or fifth in line of descent. The Frenchman and the Hollander of the seventeenth century could not even dimly see the possibilities that loomed vast and vague in the colonization of America and Australia. They did not have, and it was hardly possible that they should have, the remotest idea that it would be well for them to surrender, one the glory gained by his German conquests, the other the riches reaped from his East Indian trade, in order that three hundred years later huge unknown continents

should be filled with French and Dutch commonwealths. (Winning of the West, vol. 4, p. 27.)

Stout of heart, we see across the dangers the great future that lies beyond and we rejoice as a giant refreshed, as a strong man girt for the race; and we go down into the arena where the nations strive for mastery, our hearts lifted with the faith that to us and to our children and our children's children it shall be given to make this Republic the mightiest among the peoples of mankind. (Detroit, Mich., September 22, 1902.)

ABOUT THE FOREIGN-BORN AMERICAN.

From his own standpoint, it is beyond all question the wise thing for the immigrant to become thoroughly Americanized. Moreover, from our standpoint, we have a right to demand it. We freely extend the hand of welcome and of good-fellowship to every man, no matter what his creed or birthplace, who comes here honestly intent on becoming a good United States citizen like the rest of us. ("True Americanism," American Ideals, p. 45.)

The only way to teach our foreign-born fellow-citizens how to govern themselves is to give each the full rights possessed by other American citizens. ("Phases of State legislation," American Ideals, p. 102.)

We cannot have too much immigration of the right kind, and we should have none at all of the wrong kind. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen—every immigrant who comes here to stay—who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way, and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected, so far as it is possible, from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. (Annual message, first session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

A Scandinavian, a German, or an Irishman who has really become an American has the right to stand on exactly the same footing as any native-born citizen in the land, and is just as much entitled to the friendship and support, social and political, of his

neighbors. Among the men with whom I have been thrown in close personal contact socially, and who have been among my staunchest friends and allies politically, are not a few Americans who happen to have been born on the other side of the water, in Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and there could be no better man in the ranks of our native-born citizens. ("True Americanism," *American Ideals*, p. 48.)

ABOUT HONESTY IN PUBLIC LIFE.

No community is healthy where it is ever necessary to distinguish one politician among his fellows because "he is honest." Honesty is not so much a credit as an absolute prerequisite to efficient service to the public. Unless a man is honest we have no right to keep him in public life, it matters not how brilliant his capacity, it hardly matters how great his power of doing good service on certain lines may be. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 108.)

We need absolute honesty in public life; and we shall not get it until we remember that truth-telling must go hand in hand with it and that it is quite as important not to tell an untruth about a decent man as it is to tell the truth about one who is not decent. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 112.)

We can as little afford to tolerate a dishonest man in the public service as a coward in the Army. The murderer takes a single life; the corruptionist in public life, whether he be bribe-giver or bribe-taker, strikes at the heart of the commonwealth. (Speech at Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

There can be no crime more serious than bribery. Other offenses violate one law, while corruption strikes at the foundation of all law. Under our form of government all authority is vested in the people and by them delegated to those who represent them in official capacity. There can be no offense heavier than that of him in whom such a sacred trust has been reposed, who sells it for his own gain and enrichment; and no less heavy is the offense of the bribe-giver. He is worse than the thief, for the thief robs the individual, while the corrupt official plunders an entire city or State. He is as wicked as the murderer, for the murderer may only take one life against the law, while the corrupt official and the man who corrupts the official alike aim at the assassination of the Commonwealth itself. Government of the people, by the people, for the

people will perish from the face of the earth if bribery is tolerated. The givers and takers of bribes stand on an evil pre-eminence of infamy. The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The disgrace lies in toleration, not in correction. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

We can divide and must divide on party lines as regards certain questions. As regards the deepest, as regards the vital questions, we cannot afford to divide, and I have the right to challenge the best effort of every American worthy of the name to putting down by every means in his power corruption in private life, and above all corruption in public life. And remember, you, the people of this government by the people, that while the public servant, the legislator, the executive officer, the judge, are not to be excused if they fall short of their duty, yet that their doing their duty cannot avail unless you do yours. In the last resort we have to depend upon the jury drawn from the people to convict the scoundrel who has tainted our public life, and unless that jury does its duty, unless it is backed by the public sentiment of the people, all the work of legislator, of executive officer, of judicial officer are for naught. (Washington, D. C., November 16, 1903.)

There are plenty of questions about which honest men can and do differ very greatly and very intensely, but as to which the triumph of either side may be compatible with the welfare of the state—a lesser degree of welfare or a greater degree of welfare, but compatible with the welfare of the state. But there are certain great principles, such as those which Cromwell would have called “fundamentals,” concerning which no man has a right to have more than one opinion. Such a question is honesty. (Washington, D. C., October 25, 1903.)

It is well for us in this place, and at this time, to remember that exactly as there are certain homely qualities the lack of which will prevent the most brilliant man alive from being a useful soldier to his country, so there are certain homely qualities for the lack of which in the public servant no shrewdness or ability can atone. (Washington, D. C., October 15, 1903.)

There are many qualities which we need alike in private citizen and in public man, but three above all—three for the lack of which no brilliancy and no genius can atone—and those three are courage, honesty and common sense. (Antietam, Md., September 17, 1903.)

It is an even graver offense to sin against the commonwealth than to sin against an individual. The man who debauches our

public life, whether by malversation of funds in office, by the actual bribery of voters or of legislators, or by the corrupt use of the offices as spoils wherewith to reward the unworthy and the vicious for their noxious and interested activity in the baser walks of political life—this man is a greater foe to our well-being as a nation than is even the defaulting cashier of a bank or the betrayer of a private trust. No amount of intelligence and no amount of energy will save a nation which is not honest, and no government can ever be a permanent success if administered in accordance with base ideals. The first requisite in the citizen who wishes to share the work of our public life, whether he wishes himself to hold office or merely to do his plain duty as an American by taking part in the management of our political machinery, is that he shall act disinterestedly and with a sincere purpose to serve the whole commonwealth. ("The manly virtues and practical politics," *American Ideals*, p. 51.)

Character is shown in peace no less than in war. As the greatest fertility of invention, the greatest perfection of armament, will not make soldiers out of cowards, so no mental training and no bodily vigor will make a nation great if it lacks the fundamental principles of honesty and moral cleanliness. ("Character and success," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 105.)

There are not a few public men who, though they would repel with indignation an offer of a bribe, will give certain corporations special legislative and executive privileges because they have contributed heavily to campaign funds; will permit loose and extravagant work because a contractor has political influence; or, at any rate, will permit a public servant to take public money without rendering an adequate return, by conniving at inefficient service on the part of men who are protected by prominent party leaders. Various degrees of moral guilt are involved in the multitudinous actions of this kind, but after all, directly or indirectly, every such case comes dangerously near the border line of the commandment which, in forbidden theft, certainly by implication forbids the connivance at theft, or the failure to punish it. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 109.)

ABOUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES RESTING ON THE EDUCATED MAN.

A heavy responsibility rests on the educated man. It is a double discredit to him to go wrong, whether his shortcomings take the

form of shirkin his every-day civic duties or of abandonment of the nation's rights in a foreign quarrel. He must no more be misled by the sneers of those who always write "patriotism" between inverted commas than by the coarser but equally dangerous ridicule of the politicians who jeer at "reform." It is as unmanly to be taunted by one set of critics into cowardice as it is to be taunted by the other set into dishonesty. ("The Monroe doctrine," *American Ideals*, p. 259.)

The man who is content to go through life owing his alma mater for an education for which he has made no adequate return is not true to the ideals of American citizenship. He is in honor bound to make such return. He can make it in but one way; he can return what he owes to his alma mater only by making his alma mater proud of what he does in service rendered to his fellow-men. That is the type of return we have the right to expect of the university men in this country. (Speech at Charlottesville, Va., June 16, 1903.)

Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full in the shape of good citizenship. I do not ask of you, men and women here to-day, good citizenship as a favor to the State. I demand it of you as a right, and hold you recreant to your duty if you fail to give it. (Speech at Berkeley, Cal., May 14, 1903.)

If a college education means anything, it means fitting a man to do better service than he could do without it; if it does not mean that it means nothing, and if a man does not get that out of it he gets less than nothing out of it. No man has a right to arrogate to himself one particle of superiority or consideration because he has had a college education, but he is bound, if he is in truth a man, to feel that the fact of his having had a college education imposes upon him a heavier burden of responsibility, that it makes it doubly incumbent upon him to do well and nobly in his life, private and public. (Cambridge, Mass., June 25, 1902.)

Every educated man who puts himself out of touch with the current of American thought, and who on conspicuous occasions assumes an attitude hostile to the interest of America, is doing what he can to weaken the influence of educated men in American life. ("The Monroe Doctrine," *American Ideals*, p. 258.)

If an educated man is not heartily American in instinct and feeling and taste and sympathy, he will amount to nothing in our public life. Patriotism, love of country, and pride in the flag which symbolizes country may be feelings which the race will at some period

outgrow, but at present they are very real and strong, and the man who lacks them is a useless creature, a mere incumbrance to the land. ("The college graduate and public life," *American Ideals*, p. 75.)

If a man does not have belief and enthusiasm, the chances are small indeed that he will ever do a man's work in the world; and the paper or the college which, by its general course, tends to eradicate this power of belief and enthusiasm, this desire for work, has rendered to the young men under its influence the worst service it could possibly render. ("The college graduate and public life," *American Ideals*, p. 69.)

An educated man must not go into politics as such; he must go in simply as an American; and when he is once in, he will speedily realize that he must work very hard indeed or he will be upset by some other American with no education at all, but with much natural capacity. His education ought to make him feel particularly ashamed of himself if he acts meanly or dishonorably, or in any way falls short of the ideal of good citizenship, and it ought to make him feel that he must show that he has profited by it; but it should certainly give him no feeling of superiority until by actual work he has shown that superiority. In other words, the educated man must realize that he is living in a democracy and under democratic conditions, and that he is entitled to no more respect and consideration than he can win by actual performance. ("The college graduate and public life," *American Ideals*, p. 65.)

It is proper to demand more from the man with exceptional advantages than from the man without them. A heavy moral obligation rests upon the man of means and upon the man of education to do their full duty by their country. ("The college graduate and public life," *American Ideals*, p. 63.)

ABOUT OUR REUNITED COUNTRY.

If ever the need comes in the future the past has made abundantly evident the fact that from this time on Northerner and Southerner will in war know only the generous desire to strive how each can do the more effective service for the flag of our common country. the same thing is true in the endless work of peace, the never-ending work of building and keeping the marvelous fabric of our industrial prosperity. The upbuilding of any part of our country is a benefit to the whole, and every such effort as this to stimulate the resources and industry of a particular section is entitled to the

heartiest support from every quarter of the Union. Thoroughly good national work can be done only if each of us works hard for himself, and at the same time keeps constantly in mind that he must work in conjunction with others. (Speech at Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

The war with Spain was the most absolutely righteous foreign war in which any nation has engaged during the nineteenth century, and not the least of its many good features was the unity it brought about between the sons of the men who wore the blue and of those who wore the gray. This necessarily meant the dying out of the old antipathy. Of course embers smolder here and there, but the country at large is growing more and more to take pride in the valor, the self-devotion, the loyalty to an ideal, displayed alike by the soldiers of both sides in the civil war. We are all united now. ("Fellow-feeling as a political factor," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 59.)

Nobody is interested in the fact that Dewey comes from Vermont, Hobson from Alabama, or Funston from Kansas. If all three came from the same county it would make no difference to us. They are Americans, and every American has an equal right to challenge his share of glory in their deeds. As we read of the famous feats of our army in the Philippines, it matters nothing to us whether the regiments come from Oregon, Idaho, California, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, or Tennessee. What does matter is that these splendid soldiers are all Americans; that they are our heroes; that our blood runs in their veins; that the flag under which we live is the flag for which they have fought, for which some of them have died. ("Fellow-feeling as a political factor," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 61.)

The devotion, the self-sacrifice, the steadfast resolution and lofty daring, the high devotion to the right, as each man saw it, whether Northerner or Southerner—all these qualities of the men and women of the early sixties now shine luminous and brilliant before our eyes, while the mists of anger and hatred that once dimmed them have passed away forever. (Speech at Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

Virginia has always rightly prided herself upon the character of the men whom she has sent into public life. No more wonderful example of governmental ability, ability in statecraft and public administration, has ever been given than by the history of Virginia's sons in public life. (Speech at Charlottesville, Va., June 16, 1903.)

I am sure that none of my friends who fought in the Confederate service will misunderstand me or will grudge what I am about to say when I say that the greatest debt owed by this country to any set of men is owed by it to those men of the so-called border States

—the men who, in statesmanship, followed Clay and the Crittendens and the Blairs; the men who, as soldiers, fought on the same side with Thomas and Farragut; the men who were for the Union, without regard to whether their immediate associates were for it or not. (Speech at Washington, D. C., December 9, 1902.)

Besides the material results of the civil war, we are all, North and South, incalculably richer for its memories. We are the richer for each grim campaign, for each hard-fought battle. We are the richer for valor displayed alike by those who fought so valiantly for the right and by those who, no less valiantly, fought for what they deemed the right. We have in us nobler capacities for what is great and good because of the infinite woe and suffering, and because of the splendid ultimate triumph. (*American Ideals*, p. 19.)

Knowing the Southern people as I do, I would heartily advocate fighting twice as hard as you fought from 1861 to 1865 for the privilege of staying in the same Union with them. (Speech at Washington, D. C., December 9, 1902.)

MAXIMS.

In life, as in a football game, the principle to follow is:

Hit the line hard; don't foul and don't shirk, but hit the line hard! ("The American boy," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 137.)

Any healthy-minded American is bound to think well of his fellow-Americans if he only gets to know them. ("Fellow-feeling as a political factor," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 64.)

No nation has ever prospered as we are prospering now, and we must see to it that by our own folly we do not mar this prosperity. (Speech at Union League banquet, Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902).

If there is any one quality that is not admirable, whether in a nation or in an individual, it is hysterics, either in religion or in anything else. The man or woman who makes up for ten days' indifference to duty by an eleventh-day morbid repentance about that duty is of scant use in the world. (Boston, Mass., August 25, 1902.)

Wherever a deed is done by an American which reflects credit upon our country, each of us can walk with his head a little higher in consequence; and wherever anything happens through the fault of any of us that is discreditable it discredits all of us more or less. (Danville, Va., September 9, 1902.)

Throughout our history no one has been able to render really great service to the country if he did not believe in the country. (Speech at Augusta, Me., August 26, 1902.)

It is all right and inevitable that we should divide on party lines, but woe to us if we are not Americans first and party men second. (Speech at Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

Practical politics must not be construed to mean dirty politics. On the contrary, in the long run the politics of fraud and treachery and foulness are unpractical politics, and the most practical of all politicians is the politician who is clean and decent and upright. ("The manly virtues and practical politics," *American Ideals*, p. 58.)

The American who is to make his way in America should be brought up among his fellow-Americans. ("True Americanism," *American Ideals*, p. 41.)

There is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great. (Address at Minnesota State Fair, September 2, 1902.)

The prosperity of any of us can best be attained by measures that will promote the prosperity of all. The poorest motto upon which an American can act is the motto of "Some men down" and the safest to follow is that of "All men up." (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

A nation's greatness lies in its possibility of achievement in the present, and nothing helps it more than the consciousness of achievement in the past. (*American Ideals*, p. 30.)

Cynicism in public life is a curse, and when a man has lost the power of enthusiasm for righteousness it will be better for him and the country if he abandons public life. ("Latitude and longitude among reformers," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 53.)

The best boys I know—the best men I know—are good at their studies or their business, fearless and stalwart, hated and feared by all that is wicked and depraved; incapable of submitting to wrongdoing, and equally incapable of being aught but tender to the weak and helpless. ("The American boy," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 136.)

I think that the average American is a decent fellow, and that the prime thing in getting him to get in well with the other average American is to have each remember that the other is a decent fellow, and try to look at the problems a little from the other's standpoint. (Speech at Barstow, Cal., May 7, 1903.)

The future welfare of our nation depends upon the way in which we can combine in our men—in our young men—decency and strength. (Speech at Oyster Bay, N. Y., August 16, 1903.)

I call special attention to the need of strict economy in expenditures. The fact that our national needs forbid us to be niggardly in providing whatever is actually necessary to our wellbeing should

make us doubly careful to husband our national resources, as each of us husbands his private resources, by scrupulous avoidance of anything like wasteful or reckless expenditure. Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or unjustifiable can we legitimately keep our income to the point required to meet our needs that are genuine. (Annual Message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

Life can mean nothing worth meaning unless its prime aim is the doing of duty, the achievement of results worth achieving. (Speech at Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Duty, a word that stands above glory or any other word. Glory is a good word, too, but duty is a better one. (Speech at Washington, D. C., February 19, 1902.)

The man who does not care to do any act until the time for heroic action comes does not do the heroic act when the time does come. (Address at Arlington, May 21, 1902.)

All I ask is a square deal for every man. Give him a fair chance. Do not let him wrong any one, and do not let him be wronged. (Speech at Grand Canyon, Ariz., May 6, 1903.)

No man is warranted in feeling pride in the deeds of the Army and Navy of the past if he does not back up the Army and the Navy of the present. (Speech at Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

I believe in the future—not in a spirit which will sit down and look for the future to work itself out, but with a determination to do its part in making the future what it can and shall be made. (Speech at Detroit, Mich., September 22, 1902.)

It is a good thing that the guard around the tomb of Lincoln should be composed of colored soldiers. It was my own good fortune at Santiago to serve beside colored troops. A man who is good enough to shed his blood for the country is good enough to be given a square deal afterwards. More than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man shall have. (Speech at Lincoln monument, Springfield, Ill., June 4, 1903.)

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